

Agricultural History Society in 1952. Almost inevitably he was elected its first Secretary, and much of the Society's early success was due to his enthusiasm and energy, as well as his wide contacts in agricultural as well as academic circles: for John was already farming in Warwickshire at this time.

In 1952 he became Lecturer in the History of Agriculture at Reading and Warden of Whiteknights Hall, and remained at Reading, expanding his ever-widening range of interests until 1957, when he moved to a Lectureship in Agricultural Development at Oxford University. In 1961 he was elected Fellow and Estates Bursar of Exeter College, and remained associated with that College for the rest of his life.

During the 1960s his interests in rural social development widened to include Europe and the Third World and he began to work increasingly closely as a consultant with the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) based in Rome, where he had a flat. In 1963 he directed the UN Study Group on Rural Social Development at Leicester University which gave rise to the book *People in the Countryside, Studies in Rural Social Development* which he edited in 1964. Consultancies in southern Italy, India, Libya, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Lebanon and Iraq followed in rapid succession and in 1971 John gave up most of his duties in Oxford and moved temporarily to Rome as Chief of the Agricultural Education and Extension Service of the Human Resources, Institutions and Agrarian Reform Division of the FAO. In 1974 he was promoted to be Deputy Director of the Division, and continued to be intensely active in consultancies and missions, working in Argentina, Chile, Peru, Jamaica, Mexico, Algeria, Egypt and Tunisia, as well as maintaining his African and Near Eastern links.

While all this was going on he was also expanding his British farming interests with a large farm on the Oxfordshire Cotswolds

at Enstone and an even larger one in the Scottish borders at Arkleton in Dumfriesshire. In 1979 he was invited to join the Council of the Duchy of Cornwall, and in 1980 he succeeded to the Secretaryship. The numerous estates and villages included in the Duchy gave John an opportunity to try to put into practice some of the ideas which he held on the development of rural society. He always favoured a modern, progressive agriculture and recognized that this would lead to a reduction in the labour force; but he also struggled against rural depopulation, believing that wherever possible small industries and services should be established in villages in order to maintain population levels which could sustain a full social and cultural life in villages and small country towns. Several imaginative conversions of redundant Duchy farms into industrial and commercial workshops have gone far to give life to this idea. As further stimuli to these aims John founded the Arkleton Trust in 1978 to encourage new approaches to rural development and education; and also served as a trustee of the Ernest Cook Trust.

John published many reports and papers for the FAO on problems of agricultural development and structural reform, which are too lengthy to list here, but he will be remembered by agricultural historians for his book *The Land, A Visual History of the Land in Britain*, published in 1964, which pioneered the combination of illustrations and text to illuminate the course of agricultural history.

In 1986, he received the knighthood of the Royal Victorian Order from His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with whom (in the words of his obituary in *The Times*) 'he worked in close harmony in the field of integrated rural development, conservation and land management. In the all-too-short space of five years his contribution to the Duchy of Cornwall was remarkable. His wise and able presence will be very greatly missed.'

MICHAEL HAVINDEN

Book Reviews

N HIGHAM, *The Northern Counties to AD 1000*. Longman, 1986. xv + 392 pp. 34 plates; 42 figures. £22.50 (hbk), £12.50 (pbk).

Higham's Northern counties are those of the later border. Before AD 1000 it is not the unities of border status but the similarities and distinctions imposed by geography which are significant. The Pennines divide Cumbria, linked to the Irish Sea and Galloway, from areas east of the Pennines, whose contacts were with SE Scotland and Yorkshire. The 5000 year time span reveals the changing impact of these links; the perspective of a 'longue durée' is a great advantage.

The pastoral economy of the region, possibly involving transhumance, is identifiable from mesolithic times, and although cereal cultivation became widespread, pastoralism remained the basis of the economy. Until the late third millennium BC, Cumbria was the more populous area and a flourishing pattern of exchange of Langdale axes linked it south and east. A combination of pastoralism involving widespread clearance and increased precipitation levels produced extensive upland soil erosion and created conditions during the last millennium BC which inhibited natural reforestation. Abandoned cairn-fields of stone-age farmers show the retreat from the fells beginning by 1000 BC. Continued erosion and valley infilling subsequently produced ever sharper contrasts in the local environment. East of the Pennines agricultural advance was more consistent; lowlands were more extensive and rainfall levels lower. By the last millennium BC population pressure here was affecting settlement and social structure. Settlements were defended whilst a military élite and hill forts protected farmland and grazing rights.

Higham stresses the fundamental importance of climatic variation, population change and human activity in the agrarian pattern. The indigenous élites evolved, and collapsed, in relation to these, yet, like incoming Romans and Anglo-Saxons, had a minimal impact on agriculture. Metals, for example, scarcely penetrated the agrarian economy of Cumbria before the Roman era, despite their use at the highest social levels. The local Roman economy was artificial and collapsed on their withdrawal. Neither the Roman interlude nor the arrival of Anglo-Saxons creates more than a hiccup on the pollen diagrams. Yet the indigenous élites were responsible for the large-scale organization of human resources from an early date, and political factors became important again during the historical period. The north, for example, failed to share the development of coin and economic change experienced by southern England in the tenth and early eleventh centuries. Higham rightly connects this with long-term poverty, but political developments were

proving a major stimulant further south, and the marginal nature of this area in relation to the emerging kingdom of England may already be important.

Higham's time span has necessitated heavy reliance on recent reappraisals, producing anomalies which at the least required more discussion. In prehistory immigration is rejected in favour of local adaptation as the motor of change. The Anglo-Saxons are allowed a minimal impact. In both cases this follows vigorous current reassessments. Yet one incoming group, the Vikings, are allowed extensive significance in Cumbria and parts of Durham, a possible interpretation within the contentious area of Viking studies, but here based on questionable use of place-names and a slightly disturbing acceptance of wapentakes as necessary signs of Viking influence. The range of evidence, technique and period demanded especial attention to communication. The book unfortunately abounds in technicalities ('lithic assemblages' may merely annoy, 'string graves' demand explanation) and its argument is easily lost amidst the welter of detail. It will be a pity if this limits the impact of this genuine attempt at regional assessment.

PAULINE STAFFORD

KATHLEEN BIDDICK (ed), *Archaeological Approaches to Medieval Europe*. Studies in Medieval Culture XVIII, Medieval Institute Publications, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1984. ix + 301 pp. n.p.

This book prints fourteen papers delivered at the Sixteenth International Congress of Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo in 1981. The title is something of a misnomer in two respects. More than half the volume, including the four most substantial papers, concerns England and Wales rather than Europe as a whole; and the definition of 'archaeology' is notably broad. The latter is not necessarily undesirable — indeed the editor's introduction states that the aim of the collection is to demonstrate the breadth of modern archaeological work and the diversity of methodologies employed in a field now heavily influenced by other disciplines, particularly anthropology. But it is worth noting that the first three essays (by G R J Jones, David Hall and Oliver Rackham) which comprise a section somewhat grandiloquently entitled 'Organizing Space and Managing Resources', and a later paper by H S A Fox, might all be more accurately described as 'landscape history' than archaeology. All draw their data from written sources (and in Rackham's case, studying medieval woodland, also from botanical evidence). None refers to an archaeological report in their footnotes.

Inevitably therefore, the reader is faced with a mixture, varying both in conceptual approach and in quality. Some papers are complete in themselves, as for example those of Jones and Fox. Others represent a summary of work done on a larger scale elsewhere, to which the reader will probably need to refer (as that of Rackham), or of work in progress, as that by Richard Hodges, 'North Sea Trade before the Vikings'. This last paper might well have been omitted; not because of any intrinsic worthlessness, but because it has already been superseded by the author's own more extended treatment elsewhere. To a historian with a limited knowledge of archaeology (such as this reviewer) the most interesting essay would probably be that of Fox — the longest in the volume. Its theme is the role of livestock within the Midland three-field system — which the author sees as crucial in preserving the ecological balance of the land. Stated so baldly this is hardly a very surprising conclusion, but the author develops his theme very persuasively, pointing out that the notable absence of pasture in Midland England by the thirteenth century was not necessarily as serious a factor in livestock management or ecology as might at first sight be supposed. Some instructive comparisons are made with other areas, and Fox keeps to the forefront how the system worked in practice, and not just in theory. There are, too, other papers of very real interest, particularly the first three in the book, already cited. Jones, for example, returns in greater detail to a subject on which he has already written, the multiple estate in north Wales. Hall shows how early modern maps may be used to identify medieval field arrangements. However, given the disproportionate space devoted to Britain, it is unfortunate that the contributions dealing with mainland Europe are not just physically but intellectually slighter. That by TeBrake on South Holland is indeed really concerned with the prehistoric and Roman periods, and hardly refers to the Middle Ages at all. The brief paper by Stephen L Dyson, based on the Wesleyan University field survey of the *Ager Cosanus* north of Rome, again reveals more of the classical period — its medieval component boils down to the excavation of a single *castello*. Dyson is however quite right to suggest that judicious excavation can greatly enhance the value of a surface survey. Perhaps the most useful of these pieces is the description of recent German medieval archaeology by Walter Janssen, which, while limited in conception, provides a valuable guide to a wide range of current endeavour and its literature.

If there is a unifying theme in this collection it is that of man's impact upon the natural ecology. This is well evinced in those papers which draw upon the natural sciences, as those of Rackham and (particularly) Pamela Crabtree, who studies the animal bones from the Anglo-Saxon site of West Stow in Suffolk. But the theme is less happily pursued by those papers, all by North Americans, which seek to examine 'political

ecology'. As much time is spent parading the virtues of interdisciplinary endeavours as practising them. A combination of over-theoretical methodology and semi-literate jargon is likely both to confuse and infuriate the reader. Schematic models may well be of very real use, but they must be clearly explained; and the difficulties inherent in their creation must be firmly tackled, particularly with regard to the data on which they are based. In the concern to present archaeology as a complex cognitive discipline, there is an ever-present danger of divorcing it from its proper evidential basis. Despite having myself taken part in a settlement survey, I found much of Walter Berry's paper on similar work in southern Burgundy incomprehensible, full of questionable assumption and clumsy exposition.

The introduction implies that this volume will be the first of several which will be produced by further meetings to explore the interdisciplinary aspects of medieval archaeology. An important part of their function must be to encourage historians who have hitherto been chary of such a field to explore it more fully. But this will best be achieved by a scrupulous concern for clarity of exposition. There are some good things in the present volume, but a clearer focus, and more ruthless editing, would have considerably improved it.

G A LOUD

J R BALDWIN and I D WHYTE (eds), *The Scandinavians in Cumbria*. Scottish Society for Northern Studies, Edinburgh, 1985. vi + 167 pp. Maps; 16 plates. £6. The Aspatria vestry houses a pre-conquest carving. The nineteenth-century Vicar, a Viking enthusiast, interpreted it as the lower half of a phallic figure sacrificed to Odin. Upturn it and you get a praying Christian, arms upstretched. In the study of the Vikings in Britain, those determined to discover dense settlements of pagans have discovered them — in place-names, settlement patterns, sculpture. The more sceptical and specialized modern scholar finds the sparse and ill-dated evidence more ambiguous. In this admirable collection of essays many a phallus has turned into a badly weathered head.

The Vikings probably arrived in Cumbria as a military aristocracy, perhaps as a buffer settlement established by the Strathclyde kings. Their admittedly limited impact on agricultural terminology suggests they, or their followers, stayed on to farm. The settlers were drawn from existing settlements within the British Isles, from the Danelaw, Galloway and the Scottish Islands. But the linguistic evidence which proves this provides no certainty about their numbers nor the areas of their settlement. The lowland coastal strip seems to be the initial nucleus, but by the time they are recorded Scandinavian place-names are widely scattered and loan words apparently concen-

trated in the Uplands. This may indicate a gradual extension of settlement by Vikings, though equally Scandinavian terms, once adopted, may chronicle developments entirely independent of Viking activity.

Such doubts redirect attention towards the indigenous population and the relationship of settlement patterns to economy and land use. The sculpture suggests a strong Anglian tradition, with allegedly 'Viking' iconography indicating a general move from monastic to secular patronage. The Viking intrusion is fitted into the longer history of settlement with strong emphasis on continuity. The 'multiple estate', discussed by Winchester, has become the ancient economic unit, coupling lowland arable to upland pastoral resources and organized from centres like Egremont or Cockermouth. As a model the multiple estate threatens to impose an over-static picture, so that the correctives provided by both Winchester and Whyte are particularly welcome. Both argue for extension of settlement and exploitation within such units, Whyte, for example, demonstrating the conversion of originally temporary shielings into permanent settlements. Where they rely on place-name evidence to date this, their conclusions must be debatable. But Winchester's Scandinavian-named settlements on the edge of the massif are freehold with services distinct from either lowland or 'forest', while Whyte has the secure dating of twelfth- and thirteenth-century documents for some of his permanent settlements.

Place-names suggest that Scandinavians throughout Western Britain were unfamiliar with certain local features of transhumance. They had to adopt the Gaelic word *aergi/erg* to distinguish the shieling close to the home farm used in spring and autumn from their own *saetr/skali*, the temporary summer mountain settlement. Elsewhere in Britain their impact on urban development has been strongly argued, and it is regrettable that more attention was not paid here to the apparent failure of Carlisle to flourish during the Viking period. But certainly in agriculture, where the Cumbrian pattern of transhumance continued to change until the sixteenth century, the role of the Vikings as a motor to change must be reduced.

PAULINE STAFFORD

G PLATTS, *Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire*.

History of Lincolnshire, IV, Lincoln, 1985. xx + 340 pp. 7 tables, 86 figures. 2 appendices. £13.

This is a handsomely produced and well illustrated volume of an unusual kind. No other English county has had a whole volume devoted to its medieval agriculture and society like this.

Unfortunately Lincolnshire is poorly documented. Charters are numerous, but manorial accounts and court rolls are few. There are accordingly some major topics upon which the county has little to offer. The problem of poor information is complicated by the

author's reluctance to use existing Lincolnshire studies, notably those of Massingberd, Neilson, Darby and Hallam. This must be the result of determined self-denial. Perhaps the fens are over-represented in the existing literature, though that does not seem a good reason for slighting them in a general survey. It is difficult, too, to approve of the decision not to discuss the agrarian evidence of Domesday Book. This policy of exclusion would be more understandable if the book were packed with new Lincolnshire material, but in fact it is not. The author is heavily dependent upon general truths about medieval society and upon material from other counties. When short of evidence he fills in from other parts of England so that some sections of the book have little Lincolnshire colour.

It must be said in fairness to the readers of *The Agricultural History Review* that this work contains surprisingly little about drainage, deforestation, field systems, arable husbandry, livestock, levels of output and productivity, prices, peasant families and population change. The discussion of demesne agriculture is restricted to a brief account of a single manor (two miles from the Northamptonshire border) between 1260 and 1315 (pp 111-17). An account of regional variations in land use in the last quarter of the thirteenth century (pp 103-11) has a wider catchment than anything else available for the county as a whole, but even here Dr Platts will be criticized for basing his conclusions on ratios of arable to meadow land (Table 4), without presenting figures for pasture.

In fact some of the most interesting sections of the book are amongst those least suggested by its title. The second chapter contains a survey of changes in the Lincolnshire landlord class which is useful for the fourteenth century (pp 27-8, 38-41). There is an account of the legal status of Lincolnshire sokemen (pp 60-2, 67-71). The study of marketing and towns uses some new evidence; there is a list of Lincolnshire markets and fairs which the present reviewer will be using promptly (pp 296-305). And the accounts of urban growth in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (pp 189-96) and of urban decline in the late Middle Ages (pp 218-29) are useful and topical.

Readers who already know what happened elsewhere will find this a disappointment. On the other hand, the book will be a rewarding introduction to medieval society for a Lincolnshire reader with little general information on the subject, and as such should be welcome in Lincolnshire secondary schools and local history courses.

R H BRITNELL

R H BRITNELL, *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300-1525*, CUP, 1986. xvi + 304 pp. £27.50.

This book provides a welcome account of the development of an English town over two centuries. It

is a pleasure to read because we are given a demonstration of the art of economic history at its best. Britnell deploys the evidence of a series of wages, prices, rents, tolls, and a dozen other variables, and constructs a coherent story with apparent ease. The clarity of presentation makes the job look deceptively simple; the author's investment in archival research and subsequent analysis must have been prodigious.

The study is primarily a contribution to urban history. Colchester is portrayed as a sleepy, small town of 3000–4000 inhabitants in 1300, which expanded in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries by producing a grey cloth of middling quality for export to Gascony and the Baltic. It reached a peak of prosperity (with a population of about 8000) in 1414, and then declined for the next century. Changes in the fifteenth century, such as diversification into production of more expensive cloth, the opening up of new markets in the Rhineland, and the growth of a more capitalistic organization, could not save Colchester from contraction. Accordingly the expansion of the late fourteenth century is seen as a transient episode in a long-term history of decline. *En route* to this important conclusion, Britnell treats us to a range of insights into such subjects as the nature of oligarchic government, the costs of cloth production, or the development of the food and drink trades. He enlivens his analysis with occasional telling details, such as the provision for the moot hall of *marble* steps, a clear indication of civic pride; and, to illustrate the frictions of town life in the early sixteenth century, we are told of the cry heard in the streets in 1516 of 'Down wyth the bayly'.

Agrarian historians have good reason to use this book, because town-country relations are given prominence, based on much research into manorial records. Britnell is concerned to show the sources of Colchester's food supplies and raw materials, and the places of origin of its immigrants. He arrives at a remarkable conclusion: that there was no 'symbiotic' relationship between the town and its nearby villages, because Colchester was too small to have much influence, and its trading contracts were too wide. Its fortunes were bound up more with those of Prussia (where its cloth was worn), than with Essex. So the Essex countryside declined when Colchester prospered, and continued to decline after 1414. Here Britnell seems to be developing the idea that a town like Colchester (not unlike some Italian cities) could have been parasitic on its rural surroundings. The idea is an arresting one, and deserves to be tested comparatively. This reviewer's initial reaction is to wonder, if Colchester is judged to have been 'small', what adjectives can be used to describe the many English market towns with a few hundred inhabitants? And if Essex villages were in 'decline' in the fifteenth century, how do we describe the state of the countryside of, say, south Warwickshire, with a fifth of its villages in ruins and thousands of acres of former arable in disuse?

This is a stimulating and important book. A minor grumble must be to point out the author's selective reference to 'social' as distinct from 'economic' history. He has some comments on the Rising of 1381 as it affected Colchester, but not on its significance for rural Essex. Colchester's importance as a centre of Lollardy is only hinted at.

CHRISTOPHER DYER

ELLEN WEDEMEYER MOORE, *The Fairs of Medieval England: an Introductory Study*, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto, 1985. xi + 401 pp. 3 maps; 1 plate. \$34.00.

This important study is concerned with the development and functioning of the major English fairs (Boston, Stamford, Lynn, St Ives, Bury St Edmunds, Northampton, Winchester, Westminster) between 1180 and 1340. It is divided into three parts. The first and longest section examines the main features of these fairs — the merchandise traded there, the merchants who came, the organization and administration of trade, the operation of a fair cycle, and the course of change over two centuries. Besides its relevance to trade generally, this section contains valuable details of the English cloth trade. It also contains important observations about the role of guilds in fair organization, and about the Flemish Hansa. The second section uses local records to examine St Ives fair and its impact upon its environment. The third, and briefest, section compares English fairs with those of Champagne. It is argued here and earlier that the commercial importance of fairs was undermined by, amongst other things, changes in the manufacture and marketing of cloth (pp 214–18, 290). The author supports her conclusions with quotations from documents and tables of statistical and biographical evidence.

In the second section, examining the social impact of a major fair in its locality, the author's perception seems to be distorted by her preoccupations. St Ives apparently had a market place in Henry I's reign (*Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, i, 137, 144–5) and a weekly market was explicitly authorized by King John (*Pipe Roll 2 John*, 169). As Dr Moore recognizes in her comparison between St Ives and Battle, the former had features akin to those of a well-established market town (p 247). A weekly market would explain better than the annual fair why St Ives played an urban role in the neighbourhood throughout the year (pp 263–4). Yet no possibility of a weekly market before 1292 is here admitted (pp 249, 278) and one is left wondering why not. St Ives was no doubt a distinctive place because of its fair, but if in fact it was an old market town, as the available evidence would suggest, then the detailed analysis of occupational specialization in chapter 7 ought to have taken this into account.

This objection barely affects the value of the study as a whole. The book makes a major contribution to our

knowledge of English local, inter-regional and international trade. No comparable study of fairs has ever been attempted, despite their long-acknowledged importance in England's international trade. This work plugs the gap, and does more besides. It will become the acknowledged authority on the subject and will probably remain so for a long time. Most everyday details of how medieval trade was conducted are irretrievably lost, and many of the matters about which Dr Moore is uncertain will always be obscure. Something could and should be done to set into context the early development of these fairs and their early rivals. There is perhaps more to be said about the lesser English fairs of the thirteenth century, though for most of these the only surviving evidence is a licensing charter. Further research in English and continental sources will presumably expand the information about visitors to English fairs, and someone will perhaps explain the prominence of Douai and Ypres as sources of cloth (p 30). Reasons for the decline of the major fairs in the thirteenth century will be elaborated in particular cases. And an analysis of the history of the fairs after 1340 remains to be written. But it is doubtful whether any of these developments, welcome though they would be, could shift Dr Moore's book from a list of the standard works on medieval English trade.

R H BRITNELL

M W BERESFORD, *Time and Place: Collected Essays*. Hambledon Press, 1985. xiv + 406 pp. 40 maps; 16 plates. £24.

Maurice Beresford has written so many pioneering books and articles that those who do not know him might be forgiven for wondering whether it is indeed the same man who has worked so profitably on such diverse topics as the nature of dispersed settlement in medieval Cornwall, 'The Beginning of Retail Tobacco Licences, 1632-41' and the origins of back-to-back houses in Leeds. Only the infectious enthusiasm of the prose seems to point to the same author.

But at the start of this collection of twenty-five essays (selection might be a more appropriate word for he has written many more) Professor Beresford provides us with 'An Autobiographical Fragment', which relates the pieces to each other and to his books and which shows how one interest led to another and how his removal from the Midlands to Leeds stimulated an enquiry into the origins of a very different type of environment from that of his childhood and youth. Relating topography to economic history has always been Maurice Beresford's principal concern. He has an unerring feeling for place and the great gift of illustrating the general from the particular. Even the commercial crises and the booms and slumps of the nineteenth century are

tellingly illustrated from an uncompleted railway line in Leeds and the chequered history of the terraced rows of the hopefully-named Prosperity Street.

The articles in the collection appear in their original type-setting and have not been altered since their original publication. Three of them first appeared in the pages of this *Review*. The earliest ones stem from the author's interest in the medieval field system of his birthplace, Sutton Coldfield, and from a widening concern with the open-fields, surviving ridge and furrow patterns and early enclosures in the Midlands. From the start, Professor Beresford sought out documentary sources in local and national record offices to help explain the evidence that he could see on the ground. So we have essays on 'Medieval Inquisitions and the Archaeologist', 'Lay Subsidies and Poll Taxes', 'The Common Informer, The Penal Statutes and Economic Regulation', 'Commissioners of Enclosure' and so on.

In the meantime Maurice Beresford was writing those classic works: *The Lost Villages of England* (1954), *History on the Ground* (1957) and *Medieval England: an Aerial Survey* (1958). While collaborating with J K S St Joseph on the latter volume he became interested in the planted towns (successful and unsuccessful) that had left topographical reminders as striking as those of the deserted medieval villages. One of the spin-offs of this new interest was the article on 'Dispersed and Grouped Settlement in Medieval Cornwall'; for the rich documentation for planted towns in Cornwall was matched by that for the rural settlements. He was able to show that the isolated farmstead was not the typical form of settlement in medieval Cornwall; rather, the very small cluster of two to four dwellings had been the original norm. Professor Beresford states that he is as proud of this article as anything he has written, even at book length.

Upon moving to Leeds, his first inclination was to extend his agrarian studies to his new region; Wharham Percy became a major, on-going project. But he also became interested in the impress of former field patterns on speculative building development in Leeds. 'The origins of the East End,' he writes, 'cried out for study and thus I stumbled on the origin of back to back houses, not as the low-grade product of factory masters and speculative builders, but as the homes of members of the town's first building clubs or terminating building societies.' As with his agrarian studies, he searched for records that would help to explain the topography; his two articles on fire insurance records, which are included here, show how such documents can be used to charter urban development and are 'also a reminder that the history of organisations has been as interesting to me as the history of places'.

A book on the topography of Leeds is now with the printer and we can be sure that another great work it will be. Throughout his writing career Maurice

Beresford has not been content merely with a rigorous analysis of his chosen subject; above all, he has made economic history readable. His books are as interesting to amateurs as to professionals. This collection of essays, with its impish asides — 'Napoleon, it is true, had not sailed up the Aire' — will be read with delight and profit by all those who have not had ready access to them in the scholarly journals.

DAVID HEY

A EVERITT, *Landscape and Community in England*. Hambledon Press, 1985. vii + 362 pp. £22.

This volume of twelve essays is concerned with the histories of provincial landscapes, economics and societies as well as worthy individuals and family dynasties. Such has been the breadth of Professor Everitt's scholarly researches into English provincial and local history over the past twenty-five years, much of it on a truly comparative basis. The *raison d'être* of this volume rests on several beliefs and conclusions which are spelt out in a thought-provoking 'Introduction: Landscape and Community in England' (pp 1-9). This deserves to be read independently and ahead of any of the remaining eleven essays constituting as they do the bulk of this volume. There is the belief, for instance, that 'we should study places, localities, counties, and regions . . . for the light they shed on English society as a whole', or 'we need to pay greater attention than we have done . . . to the *indigenous* life of the local communities of England, and to the fact that it stemmed ultimately from different roots from that of the community of the realm', coupled with a desire 'to recapture the local idiosyncrasy of the past'.

Eight of the essays, as indicated in the Preface, are reprints, apart from minor amendments, of what has already been published in various journals or publications, beginning in 1960 but otherwise spanning the 1970s. About a quarter of the book is devoted to regional and landscape themes. The difficulties confronting historians who wish to define what has become 'something of a vogue word in this country', namely 'region', are discussed over the second and third essays, particularly pp 11-13 and 41-2. The second essay (pp 13-40), apart from distinguishing between a countryside or *pays* as a natural region and county or shire as no more than a human creation, considers the rise of the county town 'as a kind of regional capital', with respect to five towns in particular — Exeter, Shrewsbury, Canterbury, Maidstone and Northampton. Overall this is a most stimulating essay otherwise tucked away in the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* in 1979.

There is a good mix of regional, landscape and urban themes in this volume, covering patterns of regional evolution in England (pp 11-40); river and wold (pp 41-59); the making of the agrarian landscape of Kent (pp 61-91); the primary towns of England, with

respect to urban typology and origins (pp 93-107); 'lost markets' and their aftermath in the lost towns of England (pp 109-27); the English urban inn, indicating several aspects of its history, complete with a valuable Bibliography and a note on primary sources (pp 155-208); and country carriers in the nineteenth century, who played an important role 'in linking town and country, farm and market, and village and railhead together', here being demonstrated the great utility of Victorian trade directories, whereby 'with a little patience, the arid lists of names [therein] can be used to reconstruct an elaborate pattern of routes and services around many an English market town' (pp 279-307). If these studies have one common purpose it is both to offer a wider perspective to individual landscapes and places, and 'to identify some of those general themes in provincial society which transcended regional boundaries'.

Professor Everitt's researches into more than one county community preceding, during and following the English Civil War are well known, but in this volume the emphasis is on 'Suffolk and the Great Rebellion 1640-1660', published as far back as 1960 by the Suffolk Records Society (pp 128-54). Since the roles and contributions of individuals and families are equally worthy of consideration within the overall framework of English provincial history, attention is focused on Philip Doddridge (1702-51), a Northampton Nonconformist minister, and the extent of his impact on 'the Evangelical Tradition' (pp 209-45); on the history of but one example of a pseudo-gentry family, that of the much admired Hanoverian Kentish historian, Edward Hasted (1732-1812) (pp 247-77); and on the importance and influence of family connections and dynasties, built up through ties of intermarriage and descent, as 'an extraordinarily pervasive feature of English provincial society, [which] at the level of academic history . . . has been comparatively little studied', shaping much more than the structure of politics, by influencing the course of regional trade, the evolution of technical skills, the development of many professions, the diffusion of ideas, as well as binding 'the society of town and country together' and exercising effects on farming, industry, retail trades, craftsmanship, Nonconformity, and even the army and the navy. This particular essay (pp 309-30) has not previously been published.

There is much to interest and instruct the historian in this volume which is supported by a detailed index (pp 331-62). It truly reflects the widely acknowledged scholarship and literary skill of its author. It well deserves to stand the test of time as a reference work of value not only to national historians but to all serious local historians irrespective of their location.

A final but not inconsiderable merit of this book is to provide pointers to further avenues of research, such as the decline of traditional industries (p 4); individual

towns as regional capitals (pp 23–40); the need for detailed studies of provincial inns and inn-keepers (pp 155–208); or the rise of extended family dynasties and their political, economic and social influences (pp 311–12).

JOHN WHYMAN

DONALD WOODWARD (ed), *The Farming and Memorandum Books of Henry Best of Elmswell, 1642*. Records of Social and Economic History, new series, VIII, OUP for The British Academy, 1984. lxxiv + 347 pp. £33.

Donald Woodward's eagerly awaited new edition of Henry Best's farming book provides further proof of the value of the new series of British Academy 'Records of Social and Economic History'. By providing, for the first time, full transcripts of the farming and memorandum books, Woodward has added very significantly to our Best material, if not quite transforming our perceptions of the source in the manner of Macfarlane's *Josselin*. To the new accurate transcripts, he has added the historian's analysis and an excellent, comprehensive, new glossary compiled by his collaborator, Peter McClure.

The introduction is full and painstaking, if at times as terse as Best himself, and succeeds beyond Robinson's original (1857) edition in setting Best clearly into his social and economic context. Best was a man of quite considerable wealth, a small gentleman farmer, with an estate of upwards of 500 acres of arable and pasture in Elmswell, with additional rights to a sheepwalk in the neighbouring township of Cottam. When the farming book was written, in the early 1640s, Best's farming activities were at a maximum, and were concentrated onto the consolidated flats of the demesne and some of the semi-consolidated farms earlier let to tenants. The editor's collection in Appendix III of probate inventories has now placed Best into the context of the commercial farmers of Driffeld parish, but Best remains exceptional in ways beyond those of his record-keeping.

The farming book exists only as a non-contemporaneous copy, perhaps by his son, of a draft made shortly before his death. It is essentially didactic, probably aimed at John his heir, but also repetitive and uneven. Despite the intimate details provided of livestock husbandry, of bee-keeping, thatching, and of the marketing of produce, Best is not very revealing about his arable farming practices, and these the editor has sought to supply with evidence on fallowing and rotation drawn from probate inventories. This apart, the farming book is unchanged except in detail from the edition of 1857: Woodward enables us to see this outstanding source with absolute clarity, but Robinson had not distorted excessively.

Few will be unfamiliar with the content and flavour of this book, and we all have favourite passages which

convey its nature. Best prescribed the qualities of a good tup: 'large and well quartered, of a snoode and good stapple, with a longe and bushie tayle, without hornes, and havinge both the stones in the codde, and lastly neaver under two sheare, nor seldome above five; for beinge over younge, their blood is hottc and the scabbe procured, and beinge over old their radicall moisture is wasted' (p 6). He discussed the best form of haycock — 'the bigger the cocke is, the better it will endure both winde and wette' (p 36); the hucksters and 'tripewives' of Malton who supplied tallow for the greasing of lambs; and the careful respect for the common regulation of grazings which even the lord of the manor of Elmswell had to show. Interesting individuals abound, such as William Simpson of Little Driffeld, thresher and shearer (pp 100–01), and the seasonal 'moor folkes' imported to assist with the harvest. We understand details of the Best household economy, such as the composition of their bread — rye, pease, and barley, with wheaten flour reserved for the finer pie crusts (p 109) — and read a series of wonderful prescriptions for the selection of servants: maids were to be 'good milkers' and, for fear of fire, not to be of a 'sluggish and sleepeie' disposition; none were to be hired so near their friends as 'to make a theefe'; and, above all, temptation was not to be placed in their way. This farming book, beautifully edited and printed here, remains one of the historical and linguistic treasures of the seventeenth century.

The full edition of the Memorandum Book is valuable but less precious. Best's annual hirings of servants are recorded in detail, with the mixture of money wages, payments in kind, and contract-sealing 'godspenny' that represented their rewards to labour. In 1617, Symond Huson was hired at £1 6s 8d per annum and the right to winter nine sheep; the shepherd, William Tadman, received £5, his godspenny, and the wintering of twenty sheep; and in 1630, Henry Hunter was paid £2 16s 8d, the wintering of nine sheep, and 'a pair of old boots' (p 86). The memorandum book contains in addition details of taxes and rates, receipts and payments, medicaments for both stock and kin, and bonds and obligations, and valuably supplements the more notable manuscript.

The majority of individuals named in both documents appear in the excellent brief biographies of Appendix IV, and a wonderful range of words is defined and analysed in McClure's glossary, pp 274–323. Best provides many instances of earliest and latest usages as well as many that should have been sole citations in Murray's *New English Dictionary* [the OED]. Among these one finds: 'anchitricoes' (lambs' testicles fried with parsley); 'faggett-marke' (a sign for the number five); 'hoppinge-tree' (the oxpole of a wain); and 'moone-rider' (a ewe that rides with the moon . . . a barren ewe). The Best manuscripts are thus a linguistic as well as an historical treasury. In all, Woodward has bested Robinson's edition in every

way, and provided the agricultural historian with renewed pleasure and insight from an invaluable familiar source.

J A CHARTRES

DAVID W SABEAN, *Power in the Blood. Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany*. CUP, 1984. x + 250 pp. Illus. £22.50.

This is an unusual book, and something of a *tour de force* for its author. It explores the mental world of peasants in early modern Germany, using the reports of diocesan and urban superintendents, investigating dissension and conflict in their midst. The documents are drawn from the duchy of Württemberg in south-west Germany, a region of small producers, lacking strong class divisions, and generally undisturbed by very present lords. Such regions are not usually well documented. The evidence is not, of course, perfect: it gives only the reported speech of informants, but Professor Sabean inserts a generous quantity of paraphrasings (the explanation of his method is tucked away in footnote 8 on page 221) to show the flavour of the originals. Allowing for all the distortions introduced by literate scribes, Sabean is undoubtedly successful in illuminating social relations and conveying an idea of the undertow of peasant beliefs and opinions.

The six episodes which he explores concern refusals in the 1580s to attend communion, one man's vision in 1648 of an angel in a vineyard and the uproar he caused in his village, a witchcraft investigation in 1683, the problems of an unruly, paranoiac parson, 1696–1710, the murder of another, 1733, and a remedy for foot and mouth disease in 1796 when a village buried its communal bull alive. Many glimpses of social relations are revealed in these incidents, and every reader will be attracted to different corners of a large and colourful canvas. This reviewer was most impressed by (i) the symbolic importance of taking meals with people, which evidently betokened trust between giver and taker and had religious overtones, (ii) by the nature of 'knowledge', which was nothing verifiable in the modern sense, but was rather social knowledge, comprising received notions, rumours, traditions, reports that were generally conflicting, and opinions, and (iii) by the inordinate fear attached to the spoken word and its influence for evil or good. The word, as Professor Sabean explains, was a paradigm of unmediated communication, and had been a central issue in the spread of Protestant belief. Hence 'just as God's word was capable of creating the Christian with sudden force, so the words of the witch were capable of corruption with lightning speed'. Hence the necessity sometimes to stop the mouths of those uttering dangerous thoughts.

The author offers much shrewd and sensitive comment on the cases he recounts. He is very

conscious of the role of 'authority' in peasant life, but in the end he does not find a folk culture lying beneath a veneer of civilization, but more convincingly and credibly 'a continuing discourse' between all classes and agents in society. Finally, agricultural historians will catch intriguing glimpses of farming routines, of a middleman going round the villages buying butter and carrying it home on his back, of young women attending spinning bees and gossiping together, and of green nuts drying in the sun.

JOAN THIRSK

NORMA LANDAU, *The Justices of the Peace, 1679–1760*.

University of California Press, 1984. xv + 421 pp. £35.40.

Norma Landau has produced a remarkable book, covering the Justice of the Peace from the Exclusion Crisis to the accession of George III, but enlightened by reference to earlier and later sources. The product of very intensive study of Kentish data, it is not so limited in its perspective, and, if logically more circumscribed than the pretensions of its title, provides in a single volume the most powerful revision of the Webbs's defamation of this fundamental eighteenth-century institution. In so doing, she adds considerably to our knowledge of politics in the period, to define the process of transition from the 'patriarchal' paternalism of the seventeenth-century bench, through the party strife of the early decades of the eighteenth century, to the cohesive 'patrician' paternalism of its middle years.

The book falls into four sections, of which the first, 'The Justices' Influence', considers abstractions about their roles, defining the linkages between national and local political institutions, and the use of the Assizes, the Quarter Sessions, and the Petty Sessions as the avenues of the JPs' power. The political conflicts encapsulated by a study of the Ashford Division of Kent, based on the revealing account of Sir Wyndham Knatchbull, are analysed in considerable depth in Part two, 'The Justices and the Parties', which develops and extends Dr Glassey's analysis of the partisan manipulation of the Commission of Peace between 1680 and 1725. Thereafter, particularly under Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, and confirmed by the 'treaty' of 1745, the bench became less partisan, and significantly lower in the number and social status of its active membership, as the lesser gentry and the clergy became the backbone of the new administrative class. Judicial association helped such JPs to cohere, despite the objections of the Duke of Bolton that 'gentlemen of estates don't care to be put on a level with these people'.

Landau's third section, 'The Work of Kent's Justices', promises the most immediate interest to the agrarian historian, and here she is again painstaking in her analysis of the work of the single justice, petty sessions, and quarter sessions. While the organizational and political assessment is exemplary, it is here

that social and economic historians will find the emphasis on structures rather than functions most disappointing. Though a minority, the 'trading justice' was a reality of urban society, but in the countryside the single justice was inclined gradually to resort to the new petty sessions, rather than act as the informal arbiter of his local community. Petty sessions too gradually acquired many of the devolved duties of economic regulation from Quarter Sessions, notably the licensing of badgers and the regulation of wages. Quarter Sessions therefore evolved as the apex of local administration, hearing appeals in settlement cases and so on, and, for Kent at least, are potentially misleading as the basis for the analysis of regulation. Landau's final section, 'The Image of the Bench', completes the work with the assessment of the social and political composition of the bench, and attitudes to it. The whole is supported by valuable statistical appendices.

This is a major work, now an indispensable guide to the major local institution of authority in eighteenth-century rural society. Its focus remains the structure and operation of the JP as institution, not an evaluation of the impact of their regulatory functions. In that, at least, the Webbs still demand a replacement. By modern standards, this book is luxuriously printed. Despite its concentration on Kent, which leaves lingering doubts as to its generality, even though the author has attempted some comparative analysis, this valuable and attractive book will be essential reading for any student of eighteenth-century England.

J A CHARTRES

JULIAN WISEMAN, *A History of the British Pig*.

Duckworth, 1986. ix + 118 pp. Illus. £12.95.

This book is both fascinating and disappointing. As an account of the development of British pig breeds from the eighteenth century to the present day it is detailed, interesting, and apparently reliable; as a history of the British pig it is incomplete.

After an introduction which touches on the domestication of the pig, and two short chapters covering the period from the Anglo-Saxons to the seventeenth century, the main part of the story begins with the large, late-maturing, lop-eared, usually white, unimproved British pig of the early eighteenth century. This was derived from the European wild pig, *Sus scrofa*, although Dr Wiseman can shed no further light on the question of how it developed from the small brown bristly domesticated pig illustrated in medieval manuscripts. Its hardness and foraging ability became less important with the increasing availability of stock feeds in the eighteenth century, and this increased the incentive to introduce bloodlines originating in the earlier-maturing, lighter-boned wild pig of South East Asia, *Sus vittatus*.

Thereafter the book explores the effects of this introduction. There was a great proliferation of

breeds: Dorset alone had the Gold Tip, the Dorset Black and the Black Dorset (which were not the same). The confusion of names and types was considerable. Dr Wiseman devotes five pages and two pictures to sorting out what is meant by the term 'Berkshire'. Show pigs were bred to enormous size (sometimes over 1000 lb) and excessive fatness, a trend which was eventually ended by the development of the Wiltshire cure in the 1860s. The subsequent dominance of the Large White was not seriously threatened until the introduction of the Landrace in the 1950s. Finally came the abolition of boar licensing in 1972, which allowed the production of modern hybrids such as the Camborough.

The detailed discussion of breed development and of the work of major breeders is not matched by much material on pig keeping by farmers or labourers. There is little on prehistoric pigs, or pig housing, or regional differences before the later eighteenth century; indeed, most of the material on the pre-eighteenth century pig seems to be drawn from the familiar secondary literature. There is little detailed analysis of the significance of pigmeat in the total meat market in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, or of the way in which the market for pigmeat or the profits from pig production changed, and so affected farmers' decisions.

The reason why these questions are not discussed may be that Dr Wiseman has relied on agricultural textbooks and technical reports, mostly of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for his evidence. He has apparently used no documentary evidence, nor has he relied much on recent work by agricultural historians. Nevertheless he has produced a thorough account of the development of pig breeds in the last two hundred years, and an excellent source of reference for anyone interested in the history of a particular breed. What he has not produced is a history of the British pig.

PAUL BRASSLEY

L A CLARKSON, *Proto-industrialization: The First Phase of Industrialization?*, Studies in Economic and Social History, Macmillan, 1985. 71 pp. £3.95.

The concept of proto-industrialization, when first formulated, held out the promise of explaining the emergence of industrialization. By analysing the nature of industrial production before the factory — in terms of its agrarian roots, its demographic components and social structural features — proto-industrialization was designed to provide a framework within which to understand the transition to modern industrial capitalism in western Europe.

While the essential features of proto-industrialization had been expressed in a number of important works before Mendels's seminal article of 1972, the

subsequent proliferation of empirical studies and critical essays has done much to obfuscate what initially seemed to be an attractive and straightforward explanatory tool. Indeed, the focus of the initial debate has become lost.

In this very welcome recent addition to the series of *Studies in Economic and Social History*, Professor Clarkson steers a clear path through the labyrinthine literature of the past fifteen years. His useful historiographical introduction traces both the conceptual and empirical antecedents of proto-industrialization within the context of the debate on the genesis of industrial capitalism.

In the body of the pamphlet, Clarkson identifies the main features of proto-industrialization which could lead to the development of factory-based industry. Proto-industrialization was characterized by craft production for extra-regional markets, by by-employment, by the creation of a market for food encouraging commercial agriculture and by the expanding role of the town in the organization of industry. Clarkson draws on an impressive array of empirical studies to argue that while proto-industrialization was indeed sometimes transformed into factory industry, it was equally likely to disappear. He particularly criticizes the model for its failure to explain satisfactorily this de-industrialization. Clarkson pursues his assessment of the proto-industrial model by testing the links between cottage industry and factory industry as originally specified by Mendels. Again he highlights inconsistencies in the theory and exceptions to be found in the empirical literature.

While the debate surrounding proto-industrialization has clearly been lively and it has stimulated research and heightened our appreciation of the social and demographic implications of European economic growth, it has brought us only a little closer to a general theoretical understanding of the transition from agriculture to industry or from feudalism to capitalism. Clarkson's synthesis arrives at the broad conclusion that descriptively proto-industrialization captures many of the features of industrial life of western Europe before the Industrial Revolution, but that conceptually it contains too many limitations and contradictions.

Thus, Clarkson has produced a remarkably clear and fair assessment of the concept of proto-industrialization and of the debate as it has developed. He makes sense of the diffuse and often confusing literature that informs the debate and has completely fulfilled the objectives of the series.

KATRINA HONEYMAN

Studies in Irish Economic and Social History: 1, D Fitzpatrick, *Irish Emigration 1801-1921*, 1984, 51 pp; 2, W E Vaughan, *Landlords and Tenants 1848-1904*, 1984, 48 pp; 3, Sean Connolly, *Religion*

and Society in Nineteenth-century Ireland, 1985, 69 pp; 4, David Johnson, *The Interwar Economy in Ireland*, 1985, 50 pp; all published by the Economic and Social History Society of Ireland. £1.95; IR £2.50 each.

In 1971, Louis Cullen introduced his new textbook with the comment that Irish economic history was still in its infancy. This represented a happier state of affairs than existed in 1962 when a reviewer could remark, 'every Irish schoolboy is aware that, over long stretches of Irish history, there is one great gap: namely, economic history'. So successful has been the infant's growth that it is now extremely difficult to keep abreast of the rapidly expanding literature and the Economic and Social History Society of Ireland has responded to this situation by commissioning a series of pamphlets on major themes in Irish history for use in sixth-forms and universities. The series offers a review by a specialist of the present state of historical knowledge and a critical bibliography.

The pamphlet as a literary form has a long and distinguished history, not least in Irish political life. Its employment in the teaching of economic history is of more recent origin and some regard it as a mixed blessing. When the Economic History Society started its series much head-shaking took place. Pamphlets would make life too easy for students; they would deter students from reading original works; they would smother rather than stimulate intellectual curiosity by pre-packaging knowledge; and — worst sin of all — they would be a vehicle for the expression of partiality and prejudice rather than balance. According to this view pamphlets, like cigarette packets, ought to carry a government health warning. Whilst every historian can no doubt quote a favourite instance of the misuse of pamphlets, particularly in examination regurgitation, the fact that the Economic History Society's series now numbers over forty volumes suggests that it meets a proven need. As with any other form of literature, how pamphlets are used depends a great deal on the student and a great deal more on the teacher; whether they are used at all depends on the calibre of the author, the relevance of the topic for the syllabus and perhaps above all in these financially pinched times, on the price.

On all three criteria the new Irish series scores well. All the pamphlets are extremely well written and cover topics of major importance. At £1.95 (sterling)/£2.50 (Irish) they are excellent value, better it must be said than their British counterparts now are. Whether their very reasonable price is due to lower printing costs in Ireland or to the exercise of strict editorial control by Messrs Dickson and Roebuck, the general editors, is unclear (the fact that the pamphlets are all more or less the same length perhaps suggests the latter), but they deserve to command a ready and wide sale. It is, however, surprising to find that the price has been embossed on the cover: is the Society making itself

hostage to fortune or do the editors know something about the future rate of inflation which the rest of us don't? I think we should be told.

Whilst Ireland's predominantly agricultural economy means that all of the pamphlets contain material of interest to agricultural historians, they will probably find most to interest them in Vaughan's pamphlet on landlord-tenant relations and in David Johnson's review of the inter-war period, part IV of which discusses agricultural policies in the Free State and Northern Ireland.

Landlord-tenant relations have been the subject of a great deal of re-examination in which the picture of predatory landlord and exploited tenant has been significantly altered. Vaughan, whose own research has made a major contribution to this revisionism, begins the pamphlet with an explanation of how the malign view became established. It is good to see, in a series partly designed for use in schools, that he includes school textbooks in his survey of the literature. Given their longevity this is a highly commendable practice. The next three sections explain the limits to landlord power, the evidential difficulties of assessing features of tenure such as rents, evictions, agrarian crime and tenant right, and whether oppression can be measured. The discussion of oppression benefits greatly from the inclusion of some imaginative relative standards of a sort that are ideal for teaching purposes: evictions were, for example, less frequent than industrial accidents in British factories or floggings in the British army. There is, however, one aspect of the traditional picture of Irish landlordism where the novice reader is likely to feel the need for further explanation and that is investment behaviour. Vaughan switches rather abruptly from discussion of tenant right to investment and the statement that 'it is doubtful if the sort of improvements made in England would have been of much use in Ireland' will leave students puzzled; nothing is quite so fixed in student minds as the idea that 'improvements' are *per se* a good thing. The final sections discuss the causes of the Land War of 1879-82 and their relationship to the land question. These offer a most useful introductory tour through the prodigious amount of historical writing on the Land War and provide a neat resolution of the revisionists' conundrum: 'how ... could the land system have caused the Land War if most landlords were not harsh?'

Whilst land *questions* are perennial landlordism is not, at least not in Ireland, for the Free State abolished landlordism in 1923 and Northern Ireland in 1925. David Johnson's interwar pamphlet lacks the sense of controversy and historical exploration that enriches Vaughan's, but that is because facts are less in dispute and the period less popular for research. Given that this is so, there was a case for writing a pamphlet that contained more speculation and highlighting of areas where further research is needed. Speculation is not

entirely absent in, for example, the discussion of the economic consequences of partition but more would have been welcome. Johnson's overall approach is to consider interwar Ireland under general headings rather than dealing separately with Northern Ireland and the Free State. This approach is particularly rewarding where agriculture is concerned because of the common developments, north and south, until the introduction of protection in 1931/2. The key policy was quality regulation and Johnson argues that both governments achieved considerable success in the short run; this conclusion relies, however, on a single criterion, namely the growth of agricultural exports from 1925 to 1929. After 1932 policies diverged, though agriculture in both parts of Ireland experienced the disruptive effects of the international depression. Northern Ireland gained from the union through protection and subsidies; the Free State did not and was subjected to penal duties during the Anglo-Irish 'Economic War', a dispute which Johnson believes had damaging long-run consequences for southern Irish cattle producers by permanently reducing their share of the British market. Divergence is also Johnson's concluding theme, for from 1938 to 1947 national income in real terms rose by 84% in Northern Ireland and only 14% in the South. Living standards, similar on both sides of the border around 1930, were nearly 75% higher in Northern Ireland by the late 1940s, a gulf that had important political implications.

Differences in living standards on an international scale are the background to Fitzpatrick's pamphlet on Irish emigration from 1801 to 1921. Some eight million people emigrated between these dates and their movement has generated a vast literature. Fitzpatrick's task of synthesis is probably the most demanding. He performs it with apparent ease and includes some new statistical material (for teaching purposes it would have been useful to have had this in tables as well as in graphs and charts). The pamphlet consists of three sections: profile, determinants, and consequences, and includes a glossary of terms such as cohort depletion and stem family, a helpful feature which later pamphlets dealing with 'technical' topics might usefully copy.

While emigration became part of the expected cycle of life, the passage of Irish men and women through life was closely attended by religion. In pure educational terms, as a topic which has considerable relevance to current events, Sean Connolly's pamphlet on Religion and Society in Nineteenth-century Ireland could be argued to be the most valuable of the series. Religious institutions, beliefs and practices have an apparently concrete form when viewed at a moment in time; history, when applied by someone as skilled as Connolly, can be a remarkable solvent. Connolly offers a balanced, instructive and detailed analysis of the three major denominations: Catholic, (Anglican) Church of Ireland, and Presbyterians, though neither

minor denominations nor the 146 souls who disowned all religious labels in the 1861 census are ignored. Parts of the pamphlet, mainly where theological differences are discussed, do assume quite a degree of prior knowledge. Experience of trying to explain even quite basic differences in forms of church government suggests that such knowledge cannot be taken for granted, at least amongst third-year students in a provincial English university. Higher levels of religious observance may make this less of a problem in Ireland.

In a series which has got off to an excellent start it may seem churlish, even trifling, to record one reservation about the bibliographies. However, as the series is aimed at schools as well as universities it is worth remembering that school libraries are much less well endowed. Budgets and teachers' time are both more limited. Accordingly it would be worth considering either limiting the bibliographies to a number of key texts or, if exhaustive lists are required, asterisking the items most suited for school use and supplying the name of the publisher as well as the price of the volume. Some understanding also needs to be reached about critical comment: it is doubtless true that Crotty's book, *Irish Agricultural Production*, 'contains brilliant insights, though on occasions goes off at tangents', but does that really assist a newcomer to the subject?

RON WEIR

RICHARD J EVANS & W R LEE (eds), *The German Peasantry*.

Croom Helm, 1986. xiii + 305 pp. £22.50.

Preceded by Ian Farr's excellent historiographical survey, this important collection of ten essays on aspects of German peasant society and economy since the mid-eighteenth century includes only one already published (and that in German). The emphasis throughout is upon the 'critical deconstruction' of the terms 'peasantry' and 'community', in analyses of conflict within rural society, and of the impact of broader social change generated both within and without peasant society. In particular, the contributors are critical of the conception of the 'peasantry' as an object of history, as a traditionalist residue of historical processes, and are concerned to present that social group as an agent of change.

A particular merit of the collection is that it is the first ever English-language presentation of some of the outstanding work of agrarian historians living and researching in the German Democratic Republic. As a generalization one cannot but agree with Farr's contention that the last generation of scholarship in the area of modern agrarian history in the Federal Republic (although some notable exceptions spring to mind) 'compares distinctly unfavourably' with that emanating from the 'other Germany'. This reviewer, in particular, owes an enormous debt to GDR agrarian

historians. Some of these are represented in this collection. The work of others, such as Rudolf Berthold, Hans-Heinrich Mueller and Gerhard Heiz, ought to be more widely known in the English-speaking world.

A number of factors have influenced scholarship in the Federal Republic in a direction that has not on the whole proved particularly fruitful. There has been the inherited influence of G F Knapp from the nineteenth century, and subsequently of Friedrich Luetge, which emphasized legal forms rather than actual practices in such areas as property rights, customs of inheritance and the lord-peasant relationship, upon which research concentrated.

Agrarian historians in the GDR have not totally escaped the pervasive influence of the juridical approach. The contribution on 'Peasants and Markets' from Hartmut Harnisch, for example, could be said to dwell too long on contrasts of legal status amongst the peasantry of East-Elbian Prussia. He does, however, present a comprehensible survey of the rather complex origins and development of the so-called 'Second Serfdom' in eastern Germany, and he correctly emphasizes the role of the growth of the market in that process of expropriation of peasant land and increase of labour services.

The pervasive influence in Central Europe since the nineteenth century of *Volkskunde* (a hybrid of ethnology, folklore and cultural anthropology) had, at least until quite recently, a negative influence upon actual understanding and interpretation of rural society and economy. Practitioners of *Volkskunde* concentrated overwhelmingly upon detailing surviving customs and artefacts, the relics of 'peasant' culture, without analysing their societal functions. The results of this effort have at least ensured the survival of recorded evidence. This has formed the basis of some outstanding work, as in the case of that of Ulrich Bentzien (also of the GDR) on Mecklenburg, and represented here by several essays; viz Hainer Plaul's study of 'The Everyday Life of Rural Labourers in the Magdeburg Region, 1830-1880', Christel Heinrich's 'Peasant Customs and Social Structure' (which also deals with the Magdeburg region, in the 1920s), Wolfgang Kaschuba's 'Peasants and Others' (on a village in south Germany, also in the 1920s), Utz Jeggle's 'The Rules of the Village' and Regina Schulte's 'Peasants and Farmers' Maids'. In the past, however, much of this *genre* effectively mythologized the 'peasantry' and contributed to the 'Blood and Soil' ideology of National Socialism and the ultimate political ascendancy of the Nazi party.

Finally, although in recent years social history as such has been revolutionized in the Federal Republic, very little of this effort has been devoted to the study of rural social groups. Partly under the influence of 'modernization theory', the peasantry has been perceived of as an element of the traditional survivals

that allegedly account for Germany's delayed achievement of the 'modernity' of a liberal-democratic capitalist (ie American-style socio-political) order. Contrary indications are contained in Cathleen S Catt's contribution on 'Farmers and Factory Workers', a study of social change in a Palatinate village between 1840 and 1880.

Farr's contention is questionable that 'East German scholarship has clearly been invigorated by its unequivocal location within Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy.' This ideological basis undoubtedly imparted a stimulus to the study of significant issues and developments, not least on account of Lenin's lifelong interest in the peasant question. This embraced in particular the Prussian road of transition from feudalism to capitalism in agriculture and the class analysis of the peasantry, as well as obviously the analysis of class conflict in rural society. (Somewhat paradoxically, however, the one contribution to this collection on the role of peasant unrest in the genesis of serf-peasant emancipation in Prussia is provided by the American scholar William W Hagen, in his 'The Junkers' Faithless Servants'.)

Marxism also provided a methodology that inevitably drew GDR historians away from a narrow interest in legal forms. Nevertheless, at least in its Stalinist variant, Marxism-Leninism narrowed the vision and perspective of historians. It tended to replace reality with ideological conceptions of what reality ought to be. Here one only needs to mention the denunciation, followed by studied neglect until recent years, of the ideas of von Thuenen.

In recent years at least there has been considerable debate amongst agrarian historians in the GDR, including (in particular) on the background to the agrarian reform process in Prussia from the early nineteenth century (in which Harnisch is a participant). With such debate has come a considerable increase in our knowledge and understanding of the development of rural economy and society in Germany. Perhaps these debates ought to have been accorded a more prominent place in the present collection, instead of the emphasis on *Alltagsgeschichte*. Nevertheless, the editors and the publisher are to be congratulated for making available some of the achievement of GDR scholarship to those unable to read German.

JOHN PERKINS

ERIC RICHARDS, *A History of the Highland Clearances, Volume 2: Emigration, Protest, Reasons*. Croom Helm, 1985. x + 543 pp. 3 maps. £25.

Professor Eric Richards, in the first volume of *A History of the Highland Clearances* sought, in his own words, 'to establish a broadly agreed document of the clearance story'. There can be little doubt that, with a massive collection of evidence, he succeeded. We must

agree that the expansion of large-scale sheep farming through the Highlands brought evictions that were widespread, long-continuing, growing to massive scale, often effected regardless of consequences and sometimes wantonly cruel. But, as we find in the present volume, the matter cannot end there. Out of these happenings, capable of documentary proof, has grown the myth of a golden age destroyed by the single force of the brutal dispossession of the people at the hands of a few powerful, money-seeking, and cruel men, resulting in the total demoralization and immiseration of the remaining population. In the testing of the myth by analysis and factual accumulation controversy has raged, and shows no signs of diminishing. There are indeed good reasons why the search for clear knowledge and agreement was bound to be hard. The Highlands from the later eighteenth century have been in the grip of a root and branch transformation. The changes have struck to the very roots of society, carrying along the common people, and have destroyed old values and comforting forms of social organization. Moreover, the emotional climate that has been generated by the diaspora and dislocation has made calm and patient investigation additionally hard to sustain.

Now, Richards, in a volume which he says is to be 'analytical, speculative and argumentative', faces a task even more daunting than he did in its predecessor. He essays first of all to reduce to intellectual order the writings that have proliferated over the two centuries of this controversy — writings that have been characterized by crossed purposes, varying criteria, conflicting political ends, and which have often consisted in raising grandiose conclusions on a thin basis of facts. Examination, one by one, of an array of writers of very disparate views might be expected to be dull, diffuse and uncoordinated. Yet Richards concentrates the arguments wonderfully. He is adept at bringing out the central argument in each of his subjects, even when he seems to be in personal disagreement; he is critical but never unfair. General themes emerge as the arguments of one generation link with those of the next. Even before there had been extensive clearances two main schools of thought and attitude were forming. First there were the 'improving ideologues' who saw nothing but ill-adapted efforts, and consequent poverty, in a society still struggling with feudal imposition, and who wished to open the Highlands to individual enterprise within a system of well-defined property rights and of relations determined by specific contract. They were, in truth, justifying the clearances before the fact. The other, the 'historicalist', position saw unique values in the older society, values that had to be sustained mainly through personal relationships defined by tradition. For a time, even as the clearances proceeded, the first school was clearly dominant and if some among them viewed sheep-farming with some foreboding, even more did

they abhor feudal residues. With the failure of early hopes for development, with the manifest disruption of the clearances, and with the undeniable decline in social life, the historicists began to dominate. Controversy did not end but it became now an argument between those who saw the clearances as the main, or possibly the only, cause of social deterioration, and those who ranked this among other factors. For long, argument was conducted on the basis of a slim body of known facts. However, the Napier Commission, in its report of 1884, brought up much new evidence from unusually humble sources and in the twentieth century the full range of the disciplines of the social sciences has been turned on the legacy of the clearances. Even so, academic investigation has not brought calm and some have continued to regard rummaging through the general facts of highland social development as irrelevant to, and distracting from, the cardinal development — clearance of land.

The section on emigration makes explicit, with great analytical clarity, a fundamental question that underlies most of the arguments of this volume. Contingent and passing causes, including the outbursts of particularly numerous clearances, are balanced against the deep-running, impersonal causes, such as, in particular, the natural increase of population.

This is the problem with which the author engages fully in the last section. Here we get, in a close-knit analysis, his own view of the importance, in the whole sweep of highland history, of the clearances and of the men who enforced them. In his exposition of economic developments he shows how many and strong were the forces that were to reduce the highland population to such misery. Some of these were generated in the wider economic world or represented social currents that could not be checked or much influenced by individual action; the full solution of the problems of the tenantry was beyond the capacity of even the most powerful of landlords. The movement of certain key prices, the arrival of factory-made wares that drew the people more and more into a money economy, the demographic surge (susceptible to only marginal control), the availability of the potato: each of these had great consequences and none came because of individual intervention. The question, then, is how strong, in relation to these other factors, were the clearances. Certainly, the landlords can be seen as themselves reacting to outside forces and to that extent the clearance policy could be said to be economically determined and independent of individual personality. However, it is hard to deny Richards's view that landlords were able to affect substantially the capacity of their tenants to sustain themselves in independence and reasonable comfort; and the record shows how different could be the reactions of particular landlords to the encompassing circumstances. The wayward chances of individual character did matter. On the

whole, the landlords failed their tenantry and made the highland tragedy the greater not only by the occasional violent and cruel action but also, with a few exceptions, by inept procrastination, by squandering money when it was plentiful and by delaying remedy till final catastrophic solutions were forced on them.

This then is a triumphant concluding volume to a definitive work. It is perhaps even more impressive than its predecessor because it handles material that is so much more difficult to reduce to logical and readable exposition and in its difficult task it is entirely successful. It does not, of course, settle all problems but it defines the areas of certainty and clears much of the confusion on the points that remain to be argued.

MALCOLM GRAY

NICK LYONS (ed), *The Farmworker in North-West Lincolnshire*. Scunthorpe Borough Museum in conjunction with Humberside Education Committee, 1984. Part I, Commentary and Documents; Part II, Illustrations. iii + 98 pp; iii + 24 pp. £6 each volume.

The agrarian and social history of Lincolnshire has been exceptionally well served by professional historians, including among others, Beasall, Grigg, Holderness, Obelkevitch, Olney, Perkins and Russell. The volumes under review do not pretend to advance scholarly knowledge, which is not to say that specialists will fail to find anything of value when perusing them. Rather, the objective is to produce a package of primary sources in facsimile, suitable for classroom use. The series of which it forms a part is intended to help teachers of local studies, or history, who might find difficulty in setting aside the time to trace suitable sources and to prepare the background material necessary to interpret them.

In part I the editor commences with a thirty-five-page commentary on the diverse and frequently indirect sources which illuminate the farm worker and his style and standard of life in the nineteenth century. This section covers work and wages, hiring fairs, housing, the poor law, friendly societies and social relations. In essence, the standpoint taken is that of J A Clarke who concluded that the condition of Lincolnshire labourers was 'undoubtedly of a superior order as compared with what it is in most agricultural counties, but to say it is "good" is a matter which admits of hesitation' ('On the Farming of Lincolnshire', *JRASE*, X, 1851). The commentary is well written and shows an impressive acquaintance with the secondary literature, especially for Lincolnshire, while extensive footnotes give ample assistance to readers who might wish to follow up various points in detail. The twenty extracts which follow are derived partly from standard sources such as the Children's Employment Commission of 1867, but are varied with, eg, first-hand accounts of a case of arson, a

wagoner's account book, settlement examinations, contemporary descriptions of smallholdings in Axholme and various tracts addressed to the labourers, each accompanied by a brief explanation. Part II is in a generous A3 format and comprises, again with comments, twenty-four handsome illustrations which are individually detachable for wall-mounting. Some of them are documents (farm labour accounts, a gang-master's licence) or posters (Waltham Statute Fair), although the majority are photographs dating from 1880-1910 of farm operations, groups of workpeople and village scenes.

Nick Lyons has made an excellent job of this presentation and the publishers deserve warm commendation for their enterprise and imagination. Recently, Wilson and Hadwin have drawn attention to the way in which the study of economic and social history by young people over sixteen has declined and is likely to shrink further with the subject often being treated as dispensable by administrators or head teachers in an age of educational cuts (*Econ Hist Rev*, XXXVIII, (4), 1985). Publications such as these have a vital part to play in firing the interest of young people, thereby arresting and hopefully reversing such unfortunate tendencies.

W A ARMSTRONG

JONATHAN BROWN, *The English Market Town*. The Crowood Press, 1986. 176 pp. 1 graph; 65 illus. £12.95.

The interest which urban historians are currently showing in small country towns makes this general study of such communities between the mid-eighteenth century and the First World War a timely one. The market town was the link between the countryside and the larger towns and cities, acting as the meeting point for buyers and sellers of farm produce; its trade reflecting the nature of the local rural economy. It also served as the distribution point for the services, goods and, through seasonal hiring fairs, the labour which the farming community required. From these two primary functions, the market town had developed a number of others which were related to them, especially industries which processed the produce of its hinterland and those, such as engineering, that developed from the farmers' needs for equipment. It also became a focus for cultural activities through the pleasure fairs and festivals, the provision of libraries, sports and places of entertainment, nefarious and otherwise.

Such towns were dependent on the prosperity of the rural population and the recession in arable farming in the late nineteenth century considerably reduced the amount of business handled by the corn markets. Developments in industry also made an impact, for the small-scale industries in the market towns found it

difficult to compete with the much greater enterprises in the larger towns and burgeoning industrial cities and had to specialize in order to survive. Improvements in road and water transport and, above all, the coming of the railways, quickened communications, thereby greatly enlarging the potential hinterland of a market town. These factors combined to substantially reduce the number of such towns and, despite the development of marketing functions by new industrial, railway and resort towns, there were 45 per cent fewer places with markets in the 1880s than there had been in the mid-eighteenth century, a decline which was part of a much longer-term trend. It was the small market towns without any specializations which went to the wall, while those in which services had become concentrated continued to prosper.

The author competently manages the difficult task of writing a general account of this kind, although he seems more at home amongst the corn markets of the south than in the livestock fairs and markets of the highland zone. Without being sucked too far into the definitional quagmire, his object is to describe those market towns which were neither on the verge of losing their status nor those that had developed into industrial or communications centres, yet some illustrative examples employed can scarcely have been described as primarily market towns. Perhaps more space could have been given to demographic changes and some degree of analysis and tabulation of occupational structures would have highlighted the varied and changing natures of the communities under scrutiny. The illustrations, many of them from the Museum of English Rural Life's collections, are generally well chosen and appropriately placed in the text, but the index is woefully incomplete.

STEPHEN PORTER

CELIA MILLER (ed), *The Account Books of Thomas Smith, Ireley Farm, Hailes, Gloucestershire 1865-71*. Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Bristol, 1985. xlv + 196 pp. £14 (inc postage).

Thomas Smith (1792-1872), whose farm records Celia Miller has meticulously edited, was, until 1869, the occupier of two farms near Winchcomb, on the Cotswold fringes of Gloucestershire. In that year he surrendered the larger of them, probably for economic reasons, although old age is also a possibility. In her Introduction, Dr Miller summarizes the agricultural methods pursued on the Smith holdings during the closing years of the mid-Victorian 'golden age', and indicates the kind of information which can be gleaned by agrarian historians from similar records kept by other farmers. She has used census returns and trade directories to identify members of the farm labour force, and also the tradesmen with whom Smith dealt. Unfortunately the records only relate in detail to one of the two farms he cultivated, so a complete reconstruc-

tion of his financial and marketing arrangements is not possible. But contemporary complaints about high rentals would seem to have been justified on the evidence of these accounts, since they regularly absorbed a third or more of Smith's total expenditure.

Three different kinds of farm accounts have been reproduced. They are the general account book, covering the period 1865-71, and showing, in detail, income and expenditure on one of the farms; that farm's wage book, also covering the years 1865-71; and finally the labour book for 1869-71, which itemizes the daily duties of individual workers. The two latter volumes, taken in conjunction, show not only the farm's husbandry pattern, but the contribution made by each employee, and, normally, the remuneration he or she received. Thus, to take a random example, during the week ending 25 September 1869, William Randall, general labourer, was engaged for three days in breast ploughing, and for one day each on cidermaking, 'thrashing', and 'sundries'. But in the wage book he is shown as paid for only two days' work during that week. Then, on 13 October, a payment of £1 16s 3d is recorded for 'Randalls settled Breast Ploughing'. This leaves one day's labour unaccounted for. Perhaps it was expended on Smith's second farm, for which detailed records have not survived. Randall's wife was also employed during the week ending 25 September, for a wage of 4s. The labour book shows she was occupied for three days in picking up fruit, one day in cidermaking, presumably alongside her husband, and two days at thrashing. This single example indicates both the range of information offered by these records, and its limitations.

The general account book, among other particulars, throws valuable light on the farm's marketing policy, although it also has puzzles of its own. Throughout, an annual outlay of £50 on 'market expenses', and £50 on 'extra wages' is recorded. These sums did not vary even when Smith surrendered one of the farms in 1869, and Dr Miller is unable convincingly to explain their real role.

Overall this carefully edited volume is a useful case study of mid-Victorian farming in one corner of Gloucestershire. Such material illustrates not only the farming methods, marketing strategy, and labour requirements of the individual farmer, but serves as a valuable corrective to the broad generalizations sometimes made by historians on agricultural practices in the period. Thus Dr Miller reminds us of the limited value of many published 'average' weekly wage rates at a time when piecework earnings or, conversely, pay losses through being laid off, could affect significantly the personal prosperity of every worker. In itself the study is too restricted in scope to permit of any wide application of its findings. But taken in conjunction with comparable surveys from other parts of the country, as these become available, it

will contribute towards a more accurate assessment than we currently possess of farming practices and labour conditions in the mid-Victorian countryside.

PAMELA HORN

L RICHMOND & B STOCKFORD, *Company Archives: The Survey of the Records of 1000 of the First Registered Companies in England and Wales*. Gower, 1986. xxi + 593 pp. £45.

This sizeable volume is the fruition of a project planned by the Business Archives Council in the late 1970s to survey the records of the oldest surviving English and Welsh companies on the Register of Companies. The starting point for the project was a list of the 1200 companies which were registered between 1856 and 1889, and were still extant in 1980. These were the survivors of an original population some twenty-five times larger, that is, the survivors represent only 4 per cent of the 30,334 companies registered between 1856 and 1889. For a variety of reasons, including errors in the register and the failure of companies to respond to the survey, the initial list was whittled down to 674 companies who form the 'core' surveys in the book. These companies are not, as Professor Payne stresses in his introduction, a statistically representative sample of nineteenth-century business; indeed, 'the mere fact of their survival makes them unusual'. The project team also conducted another 1000 surveys of companies, institutions and partnerships associated with the 'core' companies, making the whole survey the largest ever undertaken in the UK. It was clearly a monumental task and generates some superlative statistics; for example, the surveyors visited some 900 locations and recorded archives occupying over 27,000 feet of shelf space.

The entries for each of the 'core' companies include basic registration data, a summary of the company's history, a description of its archive and a list of publications or manuscript histories relating to the company. Given that one of the minor irritations of research in business history is the inordinate amount of time that can be spent trying to establish the basic facts about firms other than the one being studied, the summary histories are of considerable value in themselves. So too are the references to manuscript histories when these are seldom kept even in copyright libraries.

Professor Payne's analysis of the original activities of the 674 'core' companies shows that only fourteen or 2.1 per cent were engaged in agriculture, forestry and fishing. 'John Bull Ltd, Farmers' may not be much in evidence but this does not mean that the survey has come up with little of interest to the agricultural historian, for if one moves from the farm gate and adopts a broader definition of agriculture to encompass the processing and marketing of produce, the manufacture of agricultural and horticultural

machinery, and the supply of fertilizers and feeding-stuffs then, on a rough count, some forty-six of the 674 'core' companies had a relationship with agriculture. Such enterprises include the Ashford Cattle Market Co Ltd, registered in September 1856, and the first entry in the volume, the Farmers Manure Co Ltd, incorporated in 1864 'to manufacture manure under the best scientific principles', John Boyd & Co Ltd, horsehair weavers, and the Dairy Supply Co Ltd. Perhaps most noticeable of all are the numerous breed societies — Shorthorns, Herefords, Shire Horses, Jersey Cattle, Shropshire Sheep and Red Poll Cattle — whose protection of pedigree dictated the preservation of records.

The book is extremely well indexed and at £45 deserves to find a place on library reference shelves.

RON WEIR

RICHARD G WILSON, *Greene King: a Business & Family History*. The Bodley Head & Jonathan Cape, 1983. xiii + 338 pp. Illus. £12.50.

For a nation long devoted to the drinking of its barley, Britain has been relatively poorly served by historians of beer and brewing. Mathias's model study of the eighteenth-century industry has yet to be followed by analysis of equivalent weight of the years after 1830, and virtually no business histories have sought or attained a level beyond that of the panegyric. Neither of the principal exceptions — Lynch and Vaizey's *Guinness* and Hawkins's *Bass* — is the product of the researches of a professional economic historian; the first stops just at the most interesting point of growth; and both relate to major national enterprises. Richard Wilson's study of Greene King is thus uniquely valuable as the carefully-researched and wittily-written analysis by an economic historian of a local East Anglian brewery detailing the growth of a firm from the merger which created it in 1887 to the major independent regional enterprise in the 1980s.

Forced by the relative scarcity of pre-twentieth-century sources to cast his net wide, the author has set out his analysis of the business in the context of the histories of the several families which owned and ran it, principally the Greenes, the Kings, and the Lakes. In families which produced Graham and Hugh Greene, and Christopher Isherwood, we see the other striking personalities that built the business before and after the merger: the real founder, Benjamin Greene III; his expansionist third son, Edward; the parsimonious farmer, Fred King, to whom a pair of kippers for breakfast smacked of extravagance; and the two Lakes, father and son, who took the management from the merger of 1887 to the end of the Second World War. The reader is also permitted to glimpse the entrepreneurial failures, the failed farmers, steam-yacht fanatics, foxhunters and politicians spawned so plentifully in these junior ranks of the beerage.

Brought to the trade fortuitously, Benjamin III ran plantations in St Kitts through his son, Benjamin Buck, who later became a major Indian Ocean shipper and one of the most successful later nineteenth-century Governors of the Bank of England.

If this book in consequence abounds with these larger-than-life characters, it is also an important study of the growth of a small Bury St Edmunds brewery into a major regional enterprise, mainly between 1887 and the late 1960s. Created by a merger forced by the financial pressures of competitive acquisition of public houses, this family firm adopted limited liability from the beginning, although apart from the early use of motor lorries for distribution around 1908, continued commercial success in the difficult years before 1914 seems not to have been based upon participation in the 'scientific revolution' so often ascribed to the industry in the period. More interesting still is the success with which Greene King maintained their independence during the merger wave after 1959, initiated by the entry of Taylor into the UK market and Cloré's abortive bid for Watney. Greene King's skill lay in maintaining dividends to preserve independence, even whisking Wells & Winch of Biggleswade from under the shadow of the Whitbread umbrella in 1961. In all, the author has overcome the limitations of deficient early source material to make a very significant addition to our knowledge of British brewing and, in a wider sense, to the collective biography of some unusually interesting landed East Anglian families. Both as a contribution to the history of the industry, and as a study of landed society based on Bury St Edmunds, this book will interest the agricultural historian.

J A CHARTRES

A FENTON, *The Shape of the Past, 2: Essays in Scottish Ethnology*. John Donald, Edinburgh, 1986. vii + 184 pp. £12.

Essays in Scottish Ethnology represents a second volume of reprinted essays by A Fenton, the first being reviewed in *Ag Hist Rev*, 34, 1986, pp 109–10. This particular collection covers a more prescribed range than the first, dealing with draught oxen, the use of seaweed as a manure, paring and burning, and the cutting of peat and turf. Despite their somewhat marginal position in studies of the British past, ethnological problems can offer the satisfying prospect of integrating documentary, archaeological and linguistic evidence. As one would expect from such a distinguished practitioner, these essays display such versatility to good effect.

Possibly the most interesting essay is that dealing with draught oxen. In it, Fenton discloses the interesting paradox that whilst the replacement of oxen by horses in lowland areas over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was viewed by contem-

poraries as an improvement, it was a switch that had occurred earlier in upland areas, with horse-ploughing being widespread in Highland Britain by the sixteenth century. There are also valuable comments on the size of ploughteams. He concedes that large teams of eight or more animals were present, but argues that often 'teams' comprised alternating shifts of, say, four animals. Following on from this review of draught oxen is an essay on ox yokes, in which the apparent variety of prehistoric yokes — though mostly of the head yoke type — is contrasted with the greater uniformity of wither yokes over the medieval period. Apart from a thoroughly worked essay on the use of seaweed as a manure, the remaining essays all deal with the cutting of turf or peat, either as a husbandry practice or for fuel. Quite apart from the care with which he reconstructs the regional varieties of implement or practice, what strikes one about Fenton's approach is the rich array of vernacular terms which he has rescued. In his essay on Fetlar, for instance, we are told that the panniers or kishies used for carrying the peat were tied with hyogs or bands. When being made, hyogs themselves were bound with a yarn or twine called the simmont. In the process, one end of the simmont was held in the hand and the other around a tooth, the latter being called the kishie-makin' yackie! One is persuaded that despite its length and richness, Joseph Wright's *Dialect Dictionary* can only have been an impoverished sample of what really existed in the past.

To a degree, this is a less satisfying volume than the first. The essays are less interpretative and more descriptive, with interesting problems being defined but not pursued. The lack of range is also a weakness. Indeed, though some essays are usefully reprinted from foreign journals, the reviewer is surprised that such a specialized volume was considered commercially viable. Yet this said, it does illustrate the wealth of data that remains to be gleaned from an ethnological approach to the past.

ROBERT A DODGSHON

IVÁN BALASSA and GYULA ORTUTAY, *Hungarian Ethnography and Folklore*. Corvina, 1984, with preface by Alexander Fenton. 819 pp. 232 figs; 319 photographs; 68 coloured plates. No price given.

In a perceptive article which appeared in *Current Anthropology*, 1968, the Hungarian scholar Tamas Hofer drew attention to the contrast between European ethnology and American anthropology, the former studying its own back yard, conscious of historical influences and development, and offering scholars the possibility of a career in a museum, institute or university in their own country where their studies could continue on a prolonged basis. Anthropology on the American — and one might have added British — pattern had a penchant for the exotic, sent its scholars abroad to engage in intensive

fieldwork among strange peoples, and eventually launched them on an international career often far removed from the object of their study. The bulky volume under review exemplifies the former tradition and testifies to the vitality of ethnological study in Hungary. It is a translation (very competently executed) of a book published in Hungarian in 1979 and in German in 1982 which draws together the work of several generations of scholars in order to present a coherent picture of Hungarian ethnography. In the words of the authors, two of the country's most eminent ethnologists, 'we have undertaken to inform experts and interested laymen alike about what our discipline has concluded regarding the traditional culture of the Hungarian people'. To achieve this aim they have attempted 'a general synthesis without becoming immersed in smaller, or what we judge to be less significant, details'. A valuable bibliography (containing references to English or German abstracts of the works cited) considerably assists the specialist seeking further knowledge in his own field, and establishes the solid basis of scholarship on which this synthesis rests.

As in other European countries interest in ethnography and, in particular, folklore, may be traced back to the Romantic Movement, the agricultural improvers frequently providing documentary evidence about the farming methods they were so anxious to sweep away. The celebration in 1896 of the millennium of the Magyar Conquest of Hungary inaugurated a period of increasingly scientific investigation centred on the Ethnographical Museum, the Hungarian Ethnographical Society and associated journals. The full recognition of ethnography and folklore at university level came in the nineteen-thirties with further developments under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences after 1950 leading to the employment at the present day of 170 full-time ethnological researchers. Open-air museums and archives (including the Historical Archives of Agricultural Tools), atlases and encyclopedias reflect the extension of the provision for scholarship in this field in modern Hungary. Even better known to the laymen outside Hungary is the work of Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály in the recording of folk music. The volume under review includes an outline history of this ethnological development which is supplemented by Alexander Fenton's excellent preface.

In a comprehensive work of this kind one of the main problems is that of organizing the abundant material and presenting it in a readable form attractive not only to the specialist but also to the general reader. The authors have recognized that the main strands in their intellectual tradition, namely material culture and folklore, provide a suitable basis for the two major sections which they have entitled 'material anthropology' and 'cultural anthropology' respectively. A third section, rather shorter in length, under the

heading 'social anthropology', links the other two, its relative brevity, as the authors suggest, reflecting its neglect in Hungarian ethnology. None of these headings corresponds strictly to western usage but the arrangement serves to indicate the main thrust of the discussion and the general direction in which Hungarian ethnology is developing as a balanced intellectual discipline. The introduction of a section on social structure also enables the authors to deal with the question of social change underlying material and intellectual culture (to adopt another term which they employ). The time dimension can easily be overlooked in a general work concerned with achieving a representative coverage of the field: it is easy to step into describing a changeless 'ethnographic present' located sometime in the recent past. That the authors have succeeded in avoiding this pitfall is due not only to the strength of historical awareness in Hungarian ethnology but also, in no small way, to the fact that field-research has continued unabated. At one end of the spectrum there is a discussion, in the introduction, of the archaeological antecedents of traditional culture; at the other end an interesting analysis (in an epilogue) of the role of folk culture in contemporary socialist society. The main emphasis of the book however is on the intervening centuries.

Agriculture is dealt with mainly under the rubric 'acquiring raw material from flora and fauna', subdivided into 'food gathering', 'farming', and 'animal husbandry'. Farm implements, amply illustrated in photographs and line-drawings, are seen in the light of the development of farming methods and the introduction of new plants for cultivation. Agricultural techniques and related folk belief are emphasized at the expense of statistical data, in keeping with the ethnographical approach. A section on 'alimentation' carries the discussion over into the preparation of food. The organization of farming on the other hand is treated separately under 'social anthropology' with an excellent discussion of the various categories of peasants and agricultural labourers. Work customs and songs of rural workers and servants form part of the discussion of the 'cultural anthropology'. Although at first sight the treatment may seem fractionated it has the virtue of presenting the material in a social and cultural context.

The volume under review may be recommended as a readable, comprehensive and up-to-date survey of Hungarian ethnography augmented by a full bibliography. Would that there were comparable works for other European countries in as accessible a form for the English reader.

TREFOR M OWEN

HARRY W PAUL, *From Knowledge to Power: The Rise of the Science Empire in France, 1860-1939*. CUP, 1985, ix + 415 pp. £32.50.

All too often, historians of science have restricted

themselves to the realm of ideas. In recent years however an effort has been made to place scientific research within specific institutional and social contexts. Harry Paul's objective is to examine the development of university science in France and its relationships with industry and agriculture.

The period he concentrates upon in effect saw the creation of the modern university with its faculty engaged in the interdependent activities of teaching and research. The initial stimulus during the Second Empire was a growing belief in governmental, and to a lesser degree entrepreneurial, circles in science as the essential means of modernization. This resulted in the commitment of resources in order to avoid falling behind in the international 'science race'. Defeat in 1870 added to the sense of urgency. Rapid expansion, the growing complexity and expense of scientific research, and the establishment of specialized research institutes, inevitably raised problems of funding. Not until 1901 did the State accept a permanent commitment and transfer part of its profits from the lucrative betting monopoly into scientific research. Eventually, in 1939, after complex bureaucratic changes the CNRS was established to administer what had by then — due to the stimulus of war, the development of areas like aviation and 'big' physics, and the desire in the 1930s to escape from the Depression — become a considerable 'science empire'.

A constant of government policy throughout these years was an obsession with applied research. However, although the universities and research institutes were frequently criticized for an excessive interest in research apparently unrelated to national economic needs, the major failing appears to have been that of businessmen, who, save in the newest industries in which scientists had a creative role from the beginning, such as chemicals and electricity, either lacked the resources or were simply unwilling to invest in research and development. In practice nevertheless some extremely fruitful collaboration had been established with regional industry and agriculture, most notably by the faculties of science of Paris, Lille, Nancy and later Grenoble. For university researchers this was a vital means of attracting both local funding and students.

In the sphere of agriculture, which particularly interests us, research and related teaching was relatively insignificant in comparison with industry-related programmes. Certainly individuals of the stature of Berthelot and Pasteur were involved, and a crisis such as that caused by Phylloxera could serve as a major impetus to research. In general however French agriculture sought salvation through protection rather than innovation. A small number of élite institutions like the École de Grignon near Paris (1828), the Institut National Agronomique (1848-52, 1876), the faculty of science at Bordeaux specializing in agricultural chemistry (from the 1850s) and partic-

ularly interested in vines and pines, and that of Paris, which from the 1890s supported large-scale studies in plant physiology, trained an average of 800 students in the 1876-91 period. Their major contributions were probably to agricultural industry and thus indirectly to farming proper. Thus the extraction of sugar from beet was made more efficient, encouraging cultivation of a plant which required careful soil preparation and heavy fertilization, the latter provided to a large degree by the growing number of cattle fed on pulp from the sugar mills. This improvement of the land of course subsequently led to increased wheat yields.

Although these activities stimulated 'a considerable amount of trickling-down from research to agricultural practice', this is a process Paul fails to analyse beyond noting the structural obstacle of small-scale peasant farming. The chapter on agriculture is in fact his weakest. What should one make for example of 'the bilious Marxist Jules Guesde said that "the only way to make the peasants fecund is rape"', but in place of this Stalinist agricultural technique the French art of slow seduction was preferable and more fertile' (p 211)? This chapter represents at its most extreme a more general failure to adequately conceptualize the problem of the relationships between science and the economy.

ROGER PRICE

developments discussed are of interest to agricultural historians in general. There is, for example, the response to the American challenge in the form of the motorplough, where the cultivatory equipment formed an integral part of the tractor. This appears to have been particularly due to the pioneering work of Robert Stock, who produced machines of this type from 1908 onwards. Although persisted with into the 1920s, it proved a mistaken direction: not least on account of the slightest sideways movement of the machine affecting the evenness of the furrow.

Interesting material is also presented on the interwar efforts to adapt the tractor to the predominantly peasant agriculture of Germany. Here the greatest degree of success was achieved by the Lanz 'Bulldog'. Part of the appeal of this heavy-oil two-stroke tractor to peasants stemmed from the necessity to employ a lamp to heat the ignition system for a few minutes before starting the engine. Apparently, this established a rapport between man and machine akin to the grooming of horses. By this means the psychological transition from draught animals to the tractor was considerably facilitated. It was it seems by no means uncommon to come across peasants talking to their 'Bulldogs' as they were wont to do to horses.

JOHN PERKINS

K HERRMANN, *Ackergriganten*. Westermann, Brunswick, 1985. 176 pp. DM 59.00.

In this lavishly illustrated book Dr Herrmann, a leading representative of the younger generation of agricultural historians in the Federal Republic of Germany, presents an outline of the historical development of the tractor and related agricultural machinery. The result is a highly readable work that is at the same time a serious contribution to our knowledge of the evolution of agricultural technology. On the whole the text is not subordinated to the photographs, which are drawn from a range of German and other sources. Relatively complex aspects of technology are explained — and explained well, with the assistance of diagrams — rather than avoided.

The coverage is worldwide, including North America and the Soviet Union. There is even a section on tractor developments in Mussolini's Italy. (Here, for once, the subject does appear to be somewhat tangential to the theme and merely a vehicle for presenting some fascinating photographic material.) However, the orientation is decidedly towards German developments. This, in combination with the broader context that the author attempts to cover within such a limited space, results in a somewhat distorted picture of the history of tractor technology. Germany was not as important in this area as the author would have his essentially German readers believe.

Some of the specifically German technological

D H AKENSON (ed), *Canadian Papers in Rural History*, V. Langdale Press, Gananoque, Ontario, 1986. 375 pp. \$ Can 19.95.

The fifth volume of *Canadian Papers in Rural History* consists of fifteen articles which, though extremely varied in character, nevertheless fall into three groups: specialist studies based on statistical techniques, similarly specialized ones derived from more traditional sources, and discussions of a more general character. The most general of all is not specifically concerned with Canada at all but rather with the contribution to the study of natural grassland regions made some thirty or forty years ago by the important, but rather little-known, Kansas historian, James C Malin. In his paper Robert P Swierenga argues that beside developing innovative quantitative methods to examine the demographic and agricultural patterns of grassland regions, Malin 'integrated the study of history and natural ecology as no other modern scholar has done', and that his pioneering work in the systematic study of human behaviour over time provides 'the basis of the "new rural history", breaking free from the traditional study of politics and élites'.

Also broad, at least in its implications, is the study of class interests in the development of cooperation among fruit growers in Lincoln county, Ontario, in the period between 1880 and 1914. There follow five articles basically concerned with land settlement — in southern Ontario, in the Okanagan Valley, the great

clay belt of Ontario and Quebec, and two others concerned with the seigneuries of Quebec. These five articles are especially notable for their detail of investigation and analysis, their discussions of sources, and their application of statistical techniques, as well as illustration by diagrams and maps.

More traditional in character are two studies of the origins of emigrants to Canada, from the Scottish highlands and from the islands off the west coast of Ireland; and Robert S Dilley uses secondary sources in a novel way by applying a technique of content analysis to travellers' accounts of early Upper Canada. The politics of the Upper Canadian Orangemen and their bid for Irish ascendancy in the years 1836-40 is the subject of a paper by Hereward Senior. Also included in the volume are two personal reminiscences, of herring fishing off Co Antrim, and of farming in a pioneer settlement in Manitoba in 1907. As Donald H Akenson, the editor of the volume, remarks, rural history, modern sophisticated analytical techniques

notwithstanding, 'at its heart is about the life of individual people'. The reminiscences included here, though slight in content, evoke the reality of what life was like in the rural past.

Lastly, the volume is rounded off by a presentation of a computer-cartographic analysis of the census and agricultural production data for Ontario, and by the second part of a chronology of municipal boundary changes in central Ontario, covering the Home District for the years from 1792 to 1984 — both valuable sources for historians pursuing local investigations.

This is, therefore, a highly heterogeneous collection of essays, displaying a variety of approaches to rural history, old and new, and apart from the value of the techniques that are demonstrated, it has the merit that almost anyone who picks it up, even though not a specialist in Canadian history, will nevertheless find much of interest between its covers.

G E MINGAY

THE WELSH HISTORY REVIEW

Editor: Kenneth O. Morgan, The Queen's College, Oxford

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Shorter Notices

G AVELLA-WIDHALM *et al* (ed), *Lexikon des Mittelalters*. Artemis Verlag, Zurich and Munich. Vol 3, Fascicules 1-6, Codex-Drache. 1128 pp, 1984-5. Each fascicule DM39.

The lexicon appears rapidly at a slightly enhanced price. In it the following articles, with bibliographies up to 1984, will interest our readers: Copyhold, Cornwall, Dach, Dalmatien, Dänemark, Dattel, Dauerackerbau, Deich-und Dammbau, Deutschland, Dienstsiedlungen, Distelgewächse, Ditmarschen, Domäne, Dorf (90 columns), Dost.

D J DAVIS

JOHN WELLER, *Grangia & Orreum. The Mediaeval Barn. A Nomenclature*. Bildeston Booklets, Bildeston, 1986. 44 pp. £5.

This study lists and defines the varied words of varied origins in the mediaeval vocabulary on barns, their component parts, their contents, operation and equipment, from the *grangia* or *berne* itself via *medietas* (middle bay), *ostium* (entrance) and *straminis* (straw thatch) to *garbes in tassum* (stacked sheaves) and *vange* (shovels). The considerable body of information assembled and collated from published and thesis sources makes a useful and welcome contribution to our knowledge of the mediaeval barn and, more generally, to our knowledge of the mediaeval farmstead. The study also raises a number of problems for future research. But unfortunately the value of this contribution is decreased by weaknesses in form and content.

The material would have made a useful glossary. It is, however, presented in a discursive and illogically chaptered treatise that includes a rather casual digression into certain phases of barn history, quoting Roman practice and Continental developments without establishing their relevance to the mediaeval English barn which is apparently Mr Weller's main concern. More seriously, the absence of Godefroy from the list of dictionaries and of Davenport and Hart & Lyons from the general references suggests a literature-search less than adequate even for a confessedly interim study. So does the erroneous belief in the universal incidence of waggon access in barns, which ignores 'packhorse husbandry' and leaves open the interesting question whether the Buckland Abbey barn which Marshall saw being adapted to the needs of wheeled transport was anything more than an isolated curiosity. And surely a publication of this type requires an index.

NIGEL HARVEY

W G HOSKINS and DAVID HEY, *Local History in England*. 3rd edition, Longman, 1984. xvi + 301 pp. 62 illustrations. £12 (hbk); £5.95 (pbk).

This third edition of Hoskins's bible for the local historian has been modified with the assistance of David Hey, and provided with a substantial number of new illustrations, many recognizably reflecting Dr Hey's own work. At the risk of appearing heretical, it must be said that this injection of young blood does not fully disguise the odd creaky joint in a book that is now showing its age. In all, there are relatively few major additions to the text of the second edition of 1972, although the 'Select Bibliography', pp 281-90, has incorporated new references up to 1983. Even as a guide for the amateur this means that the coverage of the Census or the provincial newspaper looks a little thin and dated (pp 37-9), as do discussions of the Land Tax (pp 43-4) and pre-Census population (pp 198f). Some useful entries have been excluded from the bibliography in the interest, one presumes, of conciseness. It is, however, useful to see the substantial revision of the section on enclosure in the light of Michael Turner's work and of volumes IV and V of *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*; of that on droving (pp 115-16); and the addition of a short new section on 'Family History'. Somewhat disconcertingly, the old error has been carried forward from the second edition, such as the notorious triple 's' on p 42. The net effect of the revisions made in this third edition is therefore to revise but not fully rejuvenate this still indispensable guide to local historians. Despite Hoskins's disclaimer, it is a book of value to the professional as well as the amateur. Its range of illustrations has been extended and improved, even if some old favourites — the Welsh Road and Mastiles Lane — have disappeared, and most, like the Yorkshire weaver's cottage, have been provided with descriptive captions of much greater detail. This book remains excellent value for those in any way interested in local historical sources and methods and, as it should, continues to reflect Professor Hoskins's happy blend of the conversational with the didactic laced liberally with scepticism. For those who do not possess earlier editions, it should be an essential purchase.

J A CHARTRES

R A DONKIN, *The Peccary — with Observations on the Introduction of Pigs to the New World*. American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1985. viii + 152 pp. 16 maps; 11 figures; appendix; bibliography. \$20.

Much of this book is a compendium of facts and citations on this American wild animal.

Part I succinctly describes the distribution, habitat, and biology of the peccary. There are three types, one recently discovered in the Chaco, and, of significance later in the book, they are notorious crop raiders in the humid tropics, devouring manioc, maize, sugar-cane, bananas, and other cultivated plants. The author notes that in spite of the voluminous literature — and his bibliography is a superb one — peccaries have been little studied as social beings.

Part II discusses the peccary in its relationships to humans. The animals have been eaten, sacrificed, and traded. Captured juveniles have been raised and fattened, and kept as pets. They are widely hunted and trapped, and there is a large native American vocabulary associated with them (see also the Appendix). Peccaries supply meat, teeth, bone, hides, and bristles for human use. In this chapter there is a seven-page essay on the introduction and pioneering role of European and African domesticated pigs, animals which have confused the study of peccaries since their arrival in the Americas. Taboos, and hunting prohibitions and restrictions associated with the peccary are varied and widespread.

The last two sections of the text, 'Towards Domestication' and 'Animal Domestication in the Humid Tropics', are the most interesting theoretically. Donkin guesses that peccary crop raiding, and the raising of captured juveniles for meat or as pets, were probably preludes to domestication, but points out that there has been little domestication of animals in the humid tropics, and that peccary litters are small, and thus '... the long-term advantages of breeding in captivity would not be readily apparent' (p 98). In any event, the sequelae of Old World intrusion and conquest, and the competition of the more prolific pig since then, probably terminated any advance towards domestication.

MURDO J MACLEOD

DAVID PAM, *The Story of Enfield Chase*. Enfield Preservation Society, Enfield, 1984. 168 pp. Illus. £6.95.

The author's work on the local history of his area of Middlesex will be familiar to many readers of the *Review*, and this book covers the Chase, 9000 or more acres of woodland and pasture, lying twelve to fourteen miles from London, from the formal definition of its boundaries by Geoffrey de Mandeville, c1136, to its enclosure by Act of Parliament in 1777. Despite constant pressures from encroachment, this long history of freedom from settlement remains marked in the modern map as a zone of suburban open space extending from the eastern terminus of the Piccadilly Line. The chase became an estate of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1421, and thenceforth the author

enjoys a vast wealth of survey, rental, and court records to make this an abnormally well documented local history. Throughout, the countervailing demands of deer, sheep, and pigs, of timber, underwood and coppice, and of the Duchy, its tenants, the sub-tenants and the encroaching cottagers, are well described, with plentiful use of these rich archives. Agrarian historians interested in forests as economic resources, in the population pressures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the Commonwealth land sales, the Black Act of 1722, and parliamentary enclosure will all find this book of interest, even if it is in some ways disappointing. It is narrow in its perspective, and uncomfortable when departing from its tunnel to view the wider historical field. This is all too clear, for example, in its discussion of the Black Death and its aftermath (pp 19f). Yet in the information on wood and its bark, and the lively if sometimes quirky narrative, this is a useful book, and one with value well beyond that of the geographical confines of its subject. It is generally well produced, although some of its maps, when reproduced from manuscripts, are grey and lack sufficient definition. It is completed with some well-chosen illustrations, index and glossary.

J A CHARTRES

J D MARSHALL, *The Old Poor Law 1795-1834*. Second edition, Macmillan, Studies in Economic and Social History, 1985. 57 pp. £3.95.

A generation of historians had cause to be grateful to the elegant analysis of Dr Marshall in the first edition of *The Old Poor Law 1795-1834*. He provided a lucid introduction to the work of Blaug and others who emphasized the necessity of placing the administrative mechanisms of the poor law within a wider economic and social context. The pamphlet helped to create an agenda for research on the Old Poor Law in the years between 1968, the date of the first edition, and 1985, when a much-needed second edition appeared.

In this second edition J D Marshall has brought to a wider readership more recent work, including that of Baugh (on the flexible response of poor relief to the changing shape of the poverty problem), of Huzel (subjecting to critical scrutiny Malthusian ideas on the connection between allowances and population growth), as well as the theoretical analyses of McCloskey, and the iconoclastic stance of Williams.

It is unfortunate that in this second edition much other recent work goes undiscussed, and without even a reference in the bibliography. Students will not be alerted, for example, to the work of Cowherd or Himmelfarb (on the ideological background); of Brundage or Dunkley (on the political context of local reform); of Holderness or Banks (on settlement); or of Thomas or Lane (on medical developments).

As a guide to recent research this second edition is therefore inadequate. Indeed, by continuing to produce two pamphlets on the poor law, each with a cut-off date of 1834, this valuable series of Studies in Economic and Social History effectively makes it difficult for an adequate review to be made of the central issues historians have been examining — the continuities and discontinuities of the 1834 act.

ANNE DIGBY

CELIA MILLER (ed), *Rain and Ruin: The Diary of an Oxfordshire Farmer, John Simpson Calvertt, 1875-1900*. Alan Sutton, Gloucester, 1983. 285 pp. Illus. £8.95 (hbk); £4.95 (pbk).

John Simpson Calvertt entered farming at Alford, Lincolnshire, in 1852 after agricultural pupillage from 1847, but moved to a Crown tenancy on the Oxfordshire stonebrash in 1875-6 to farm on a larger scale. Published here are extracts from the last two volumes of his diary, covering the period 1875-1900, the years of his large-scale farming and his semi-retirement, from 1894, to the smaller Langley Farm in favour of his son. Calvertt was a mixed farmer, growing corn and vetches, and producing beef cattle and sheep, a local Poor Law guardian, an active Conservative, and a passionate foxhunter. His diary is therefore of considerable interest as an insight into the mental world of a substantial farmer oppressed by falling grain prices and the vicissitudes of the weather, and, rather less effectively, into his personal and farming economy. Despite these 'depression' years, his life was very comfortable on 1500 acres, and Calvertt travelled regularly for both business and pleasure besides hunting three times a week in the season. Interspersed with the record of carnage — foxes, pheasants, ducks, rabbits, pigeons, and even peregrines — is a cavalcade of Victorian personalities and events, from W G Grace and Lily Langtry to the Zulu and Boer Wars, and the diary presents the continuingly intelligent observations of the author. He was a humanitarian in his responses to the collapse of the 1897-8 engineers' and other strikes, splendidly scathing in his comments on the windfall gains made by Lord Churchill in his sale of Cornbury in 1897, and delightful in his constant quest for the right meat to accompany champagne — pheasant 'suited' but boar's head did not (p 159). While Calvertt's acerbic comments on the budgets, on the weather, on crops, and on prices are useful information for the agrarian historian, this is not, in this selection, quite from the top drawer of diarists. Calvertt provides an excellent read, but is not outstanding as a source on farming. In this nicely-produced and well-annotated edition, Calvertt comes to life as a substantial Victorian farmer, rather than as an outstanding source on Victorian farming.

J A CHARTRES

EILEEN ELDER, *Lincolnshire Country Food*. Scunthorpe Borough Museum and Art Gallery, 1985. 114 pp. 1 map. No price given.

'Rabbit tender, rabbit tough / Thank the Lord we've had enough', ended an Edwardian child's mealtime grace in the Wolds of Lincolnshire. The way in which 'enough' was conjured out of the household's pig, cow, and garden — as well as from the general storehouse of the countryside — is told in the first part of this well-researched and attractively illustrated book. Its subject is 'the ordinary working people' of Victorian and Edwardian Lindsey in north Lincolnshire. 'Nothing was wasted but the squeal' was the proud boast of the women who processed the family pig. Their everyday aim was equally economical: to provide 'good fill-belly' for hungry labourers, and exploit seasonal produce to vary the monotony of a restricted diet.

The old recipes which form the second part of this book show how these aims were accomplished. Since these have been handed down in Lincolnshire families, not all of them are generally practicable today; this reviewer cannot claim to have tried out those for rook pie, stewed eels, or pickled samphire! Others are more accessible, however, and include delicious recipes for Lincolnshire plum bread and Whitsuntide cake.

Both cooks and historians will find much of interest and enjoyment here.

ANNE DIGBY

OLIVE SHARKEY, *Old Days and Old Ways: An Illustrated Folk History of Ireland*. O'Brien Press Ltd, Dublin, 1986. 171 pp. Illus. £11.95.

The O'Brien Press has published many interesting books including Henry Glassie's classic study of an agricultural community in Northern Ireland — *Passing the Time*. Unfortunately this book is not in the same league. The book aims to be 'an illustrated folk history of Ireland' and it certainly contains a large number of illustrations. Unfortunately many of these are incorrectly described, a chaff cutter being described as a turnip slicer, a cast iron stack stand being described as used in 'areas liable to flooding' for example, leading a reader to wonder how accurate are the descriptions of less common items from different parts of Ireland. The sources of illustration are not clear and museums as far apart as Killarney, Kingussie in Scotland and Singleton in Hampshire are mentioned as having been visited as sources of drawings.

The text is of similar quality and it is obvious that at times the writer has been compiling information which she has not fully understood. As a source book of nostalgic quotes and agricultural history misunderstandings it may become a classic:

'Water from the bog streams was always crystal clear and lovely to drink';

'The sickle is outstanding because one can use it for a

whole day without feeling unduly tired';
 'Steam Power in the 1920s brought considerable changes';
 'Generally swing ploughs had no wheels';
 'No two ploughs will be exactly the same, even though there were hundreds of each type made.'

Definitely not a book for the serious student of either agricultural history or folk life, though it may have some relevance on how folk stories develop.

JOHN GALL

ELSA MORROW, *A History of Swanley Horticultural College*. The Agricola Club and Swanley Guild, Wye College, Ashford, 1984. 83 pp. 15 plates. £1.25.

This short history is a chronology of Swanley Horticultural College from its foundation in 1889 until

it was amalgamated with Wye College in 1946. Many of the short descriptions of academic successes, staff changes, new buildings, student entertainments, distinguished visitors, fund-raising, shows and exhibitions, lectures and courses, and ex-students' careers will be of interest mainly to former pupils and staff. The book gives some impression, however, of an institution which with high academic standards and dedicated members of staff helped to elevate the status of horticultural studies to degree level and, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries especially, to improve and forward the position of women in Britain.

Photographs of the grounds, staff and students complement the text and a sixteen-page facsimile of the original prospectus reveals the wide practical and theoretical syllabus offered by the original foundation.

MALCOLM THICK

Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society

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